

THESIS

FOR THE DEGREE OF PH.D. IN ARABIC

ON

" CONTRIBUTION OF INDIA TO ARABIC LITERATURE "

submitted by

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CONTENTS

PREFACE
INTRODUCTION
CHAPTER I.	Pre-Ghaznavid Period.	
CHAPTER II.	Qur'anic Literature.	
CHAPTER III.	Hadith Literature.	
CHAPTER IV.	Literature on Fiqh.	
CHAPTER V.	" " Tasawwuf.	
CHAPTER VI.	" " Dogma, Scholastic Theology &c.	
CHAPTER VII.	" " Philosophy.	
CHAPTER VIII.	" " Mathematics and Medicine.	
CHAPTER IX.	" " History and Biography.	
CHAPTER X.	" " Philology.	
CHAPTER XI.	" " Fine Prose, Belles Lettres.	
CHAPTER XII.	" " Poetry.	
APPENDIX	i. A list of Arabic Works written in India or by Indians, divided into eleven sections according to subject matter.	
	ii. A list of the same alphabetically arranged.	
BIBLIOGRAPHY	i.e. A list of Authorities quoted.	



According to Ḥajjī Khalīfah, literary composition is of seven kinds, as he says in the introduction to his great bibliography: (1)

P R E F A C E

The subject of the present dissertation is "The Contribution of India to Arabic Literature up to the end of the Mughal period (1857). The term "literature" is to be taken in its general sense - as comprising all forms of literary activity in some particular language.

Much has been written on the history of Arabic literature and much still remains to be written. The chief characteristic of the Western method of scientific investigation is to divide a subject into as many divisions and subdivisions as may be convenient and useful for the purpose in hand and then to make researches in one of the branches according to one's own taste and field of activity.

Tha'ālībī (1) was probably the first person to treat the history of the Arabic poets of a certain period in this manner, arranging them according to the countries to which they belonged. But he omits India. Brockelmann has followed the same principle in accordance with the more comprehensive scope of his great history of Arabic literature. He is the first writer to devote a separate chapter, brief though it is, to India under different periods. (2) After him no one seems to have followed a similar geographical arrangement in regard to the history of Arabic literature. Accordingly, an attempt is made in the following pages to give an account of such Arabic literature as was produced in India or by Indians.

(1) His work Yatīmat al-Dahr is said to have been composed on the lines of Ḥarūn b. 'Alī's Kitāb al-Bārī (vide Khalīfah II, 4). But no copy of this work is at present known to exist and so it is not known whether Ḥarūn also arranged the accounts of the poets whom he dealt with in his book according to the countries to which they belonged.

(2) Brockelmann's Geschichte, Vol. II, pp. 219-222; 415-422; 503-504.

According to Hajjī Khalīfah, literary composition is of seven kinds, as he says in the introduction to his great bibliography:⁽¹⁾

ways been regarded as a country of enormous wealth, and the courts of Indian kings and princes have always been centres of attraction for a large number of ambitious and fortune-seeking scholars. If learned men came to India and composed books there, this was due to (Composition in of seven kinds; the compositions of every wise scholar comes under one or other of these heads: he either invents a thing not previously existing; or completes what has been left incomplete; or writes a commentary upon a difficult book; or abridges a long work without injuring its contents; or collects what is scattered in various books; or arranges what exists in a confused form; or corrects the mistakes of a previous writer.)

Out of these seven kinds of composition this thesis may fall under two kinds, to wit, firstly, to foreign countries provided that this may be taken to mean a fuller treatment of what has already been treated, very incompletely and briefly by Brockelmann, as far as India is concerned; and secondly, because the materials for this thesis lie scattered in books published and unpublished, and have now been collected and incorporated in this present work.

CONNOTATION OF THE TERM "INDIAN WORK".

Here I may define what I mean by an Indian Arabic work. Any Arabic work produced by Indians, whether in India or outside India, and also by non-Indians while resident in India, falls within the scope of the present subject. It may be objected that works produced by Indian writers outside India ought to be assigned to the countries in which they were domiciled, if India is to receive the credit of such Arabic

(1) Khalīfah, I., 84.

literature as was written in India by foreigners. But in both cases there are special reasons for such an inclusion. India has always been regarded as a country of enormous wealth, and the courts of Indian kings and princes have always been centres of attraction for a large number of ambitious and fortune-seeking scholars. If learned men came to India and composed books there, this was due to the encouragement and patronage afforded to them by the princes and nobles of that country. But such was not the case in other countries. Every Indian who went abroad did so merely in search of further knowledge, having already acquired a high education in his native country; he did not receive any special encouragement or support in the foreign states. If he left India for good and settled permanently elsewhere, it was due to his finding his new surroundings more congenial for the realisation of his search for further knowledge. Indian scholars journeyed to foreign countries in order to complete their education, while many great foreign scholars were attracted to India by the hope of receiving pecuniary aid in serving the cause of Arabic literature. In the former case, she contributed to Arabic literature through the minds of her own enthusiastic sons, leaving their country in thirst of knowledge, while in the latter, she did the same through the rich purses of her own generous children.

THE PLAN OF THE DISSERTATION.

The contribution of India to Arabic literature may be divided into two periods, to wit, the pre-Islamic period, that is to say, from ancient times to Mahmūd's invasion of India; and the Muslim period, that is from the Ghaznavid Dynasty up to the Mutiny of 1857. As the material for the first period is very scanty, only one chapter is devoted to it; and the second period, being the most fruitful period of Indian Arabic literature, has been further divided into

eleven chapters according to the various branches of Arabic Literature, as follows:-

- I. Qur'ānic literature.
- II. Hadīth.
- III. Fiqh.
- IV. Tagawwuf.
- V. Islamic Dogma and Scholastic and Controversial Theology, and those religious books which do not satisfactorily come under any of the preceding sections.
- VI. Philosophy.
- VII. History, Biography and Travel.
- VIII. Mathematics and Medicine.
- IX. Grammar, Lexicography and Rhetoric.
- X. Ornate Prose.
- XI. Poetry.

My account of the various works described under each heading, is derived from personal knowledge of them, with the solitary exception of works on medicine, in which case I have taken help from the Bānkīpūr Catalogue, Vol. IV, as the MSS. described therein are not available in this country.

At the end, an appendix gives a list of the Arabic works written in India or by Indians. I cannot claim that the list even approximates to completeness; but I have tried my best to make it as exhaustive as the materials available to me in this country have permitted. I have consulted all the available published catalogues of Arabic MSS and books, and also biographies of Indian scholars and saints, a list of which will be found in the bibliography.

The system of transliteration of Oriental names and words is that recommended by the Royal Asiatic Society and used by Professor Nicholson, viz.:-

ARRANGEMENT OF THE LIST OF ARABIC WORKS WRITTEN IN
INDIA OR BY INDIANS:-

1. The list is divided under the same eleven headings as the main part of the thesis.
2. Under each head authors are arranged chronologically according to the dates of their death or the period in which they flourished. The names of these authors whose date could not be ascertained are given at the end of each chapter under the sub-heading "Works of unknown date."
3. After the name of each author, the sources for his biography are given, accompanied by cross-references to the different sections under which other works of his are mentioned. Biographical authorities of an author are given only in that section in which his work is mentioned for the first time. In subsequent sections references only are given.
4. In each section the works of an author have been arranged under three heads, A, B, and C. Under A only printed works are given, with indications of libraries in which MSS of these works may be found. Under B only such MSS are mentioned as are not known to me to have been published. Under C those works are mentioned the titles of which have come down to us but no copies are known to exist.
5. At the end the names of all the Indian works are arranged in alphabetical order, followed by the names of the authors.

The system of transliteration of Oriental names and words is that recommended by the Royal Asiatic Society and used by Professor Nicholson, viz.-

ث = th; ج = j; ح = h; ك = kh; ذ = dh; ز = z; ش = sh;
 و = w; و = q; ب = b; پ = p; ع = ' ; غ = gh; ق = q; ف = f

The final h which is generally omitted has been restored throughout, and the vowel sounds which are commonly represented by *āi* and *ōū* have been transliterated by *āy* and *āw* respectively.

INDIA AND ARABIC LITERATURE.

Of all the countries that have ever been under a Muslim Government, India (with the exception of the Western provinces of Sind, Multān and Balūchistān) and Turkey in Europe are among the few that have not been ruled by Arabs or by some Arabic-speaking people. Not only that, but India also, on account of her geographical position, could not enjoy such facilities for coming into direct contact with Arabian civilization and the centres of Arabic learning as were possible to other countries, e.g. Persia and Transoxania in the east, and Northern Africa in the west. Sind was annexed by the Arabs as early as the end of the First century of the Hijra, and it remained in their possession for some time, until Mahmūd (259-379 A.H.) conferred the government of this province upon Ya'qūb b. Layth, the founder of the Gaffarid House; after his death two Muslim kingdoms of Arabs rose up on these Indian frontiers. But of their intellectual activities nothing is known.

Moreover, the Muslim population in India has always formed a small minority, and the strong forces of the rival literatures have always been active. Hence the Arabic literature produced in India is meagre, as compared with the Persian literature of this country.

But in spite of all these geographical and political disadvantages, Arabic could not be neglected by the Indian Muslims, seeing that it was the language in which their holy scriptures had been written, and was the key to the invaluable treasures of Islamic learning. How far India has served the cause of this language is the subject matter of this thesis.

Arabic composition and compilation in India commenced just a little before the time when the general tide of Arabic activities all over the world, in which they had accomplished wonders, had already begun to subside and many branches of Arabic literature were in a state of decay. extent that no fresh contribution to them could be expected. For instance, the

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Arabic composition and compilation in India commenced just a little before the time when the general tide of Arabic activities all over the countries in which they had accomplished wonders, had already begun to subside and many branches of Arabic literature had ripened to such an extent that no fresh contribution to them could be expected. For instance, the Qur'ān, writings on Hadīth and Fiqh, had become so numerous that any original work on the subject matter contained in them remained hardly possible, at least from the standpoint of a Muslim. Other departments of literature, such as philosophy, scholastic theology, mathematics, medicine and sciences, though ever capable of original contributions, had become stagnant for lack of originality on the part of the scholars concerned, and what had been achieved in these domains by the early thinkers was merely being commented on again and again, instead of receiving additions from the labours of succeeding generations of the learned.

Under these circumstances any originality in the contribution of India to Arabic literature cannot be looked for. On the other hand, it would be unjust to undervalue her contribution, meagre though it may appear.

It is curious that, generally speaking, there is little or no difference between Arabic literature produced in and outside India. The reason is not far to seek. It is due to Taqlīd, carried on blindly in India as elsewhere in the Muslim world. As long as the Muslim world did not fall a victim to this great hindrance to the advancement of learning it achieved wonders in every branch of human study; but after it had been overtaken by Taqlīd, all its progressive activities ceased. Let us examine the problem more closely. What is the origin of Taqlīd? The Qur'ān orders its adherents to obey God and the Prophet; and the Prophet exhorted Muslims to follow him. That is the origin of Taqlīd; and no reasonable objection can be brought against this form of Taqlīd, since the adherents

of any particular religion must follow its founder. When Abū Bakr succeeded the Prophet as the first Caliph, he strictly followed the Prophet, since he was not merely the predecessor of Abū Bakr but also the founder of his religion; and so there was nothing wrong in Abū Bakr's following his example. But when 'Umar succeeded him, he not only followed the Prophet but his immediate predecessor also. 'Umar's following of Abū Bakr in this manner is the basis of that Taqlīd which later generations misused to the extreme. When, after the death of 'Umar, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Awf, the chairman of the small committee to which the dying Caliph had entrusted the responsible duty of duly electing a successor from among themselves, asked 'Alī to give a pledge that he would act according to the Qur'ān, the Sunnah and what the two preceding Caliphs had done, 'Alī replied that he would act according to his knowledge and capacity. When the same question was put to 'Uthmān, he readily agreed, and consequently was at once saluted as Caliph.⁽¹⁾ This story serves to show the extent to which the following of persons other than the Prophet, along with the Qur'ān and the Sunnah had become rooted in the hearts of the early Muslims. This popularity of Taqlīd went on increasing slowly but steadily up to the establishment of the four schools of Fiqh; after which time Taqlīd acquired so dominant a character that independent thinking almost disappeared. Islām has many sects, but most of them came into existence when Taqlid had not succeeded in taking so prominent a place; but after Taqlīd had attained that supremacy, only a few unimportant sects were founded; because the foundation of a new sect implies independent thinking, and this is incompatible with Taqlīd. The adherents of every sect have to follow their sectarian leaders and scholars. Even the most independent sect of Ahl al-Hadīth, who claim to be guided by the Qur'ān and the Sunnah

(1) 1. Tabarī Ta'rikh, p. 2786.
 ii. Ibn al-Athīr, al Kāmil ii, 30.

alone, is not free from it. If Hanafī Fiqh is full of Abū Hanīfah's authoritative statements, the books of Ahl al-Ḥadīth are full of Ibn Taymiyyah's interpretations of the Qur'ān and the Ḥadīth. To be brief, Taqlīd was in the beginning confined to the religious life, but gradually it came to embrace all the activities of the Muslim world. Muslims achieved what they did achieve before the Mongol invasion, and by this time Taqlīd had not yet become dominant in any field of activity other than that of religion, but after this period the whole Muslim world became the slave of Taqlīd; and in every branch of learning the Muta'akhkhirūn became blind followers of the Mutaqaddimūn. The decisions of the predecessors were accepted as final solutions of every problem, and thus the learning of the Muslim world became so systematised and uniform that no violation, however healthy and beneficial, was possible.

The conditions of the Muslims of India was even worse. Other countries had had their times of free thinking; but in India Muslim literary activities began at a time when the Muslim world outside India had already fallen into the slough of Taqlīd, and the Muslim scholars of India consequently regarded Arabic learning with such awe that they could not shake off the bondage of Taqlīd. They had no wish to deviate from the following of the Mutaqaddimūn or to invent anything new; e.g. when Fayḍī wrote his commentary, entitled the orthodox theologians raised an objection that to write a commentary in such a style, devoid of dotted letters, was an innovation; to which the shrewd commentator replied that the very first creed of Islām is devoid of dotted letters. They were so afraid of innovations that even in secular literature, they only slavishly imitated and vehemently supported their views. Commentating was felt to be what the case demanded, and constituted the pious office of the custodian of the learning which previous generations had bequeathed.

In short, it is no wonder that there should be little or no difference between the Arabic literature produced outside India and that produced in India. The Ḥanafī Fiqh of India, for instance, is the same as that of any other country. The FATĀWĀ 'ĀLAMGĪRĪ, composed here is as reliable and authentic in Egypt as it is in India. The same is the case with the Indian commentaries on Ḥadīth and the Qur'ān. Slight differences, corresponding to the ancient customs and usages of a country find no place in the books on Fiqh, and are only to be found in the legal statutes of the State, if there are any such. Fatāwā for the settlement of new problems are always based upon the old authorities which are common to each Muslim country. India has produced many books entitled Fatāwā, the most important being FATĀWĀ 'ĀLAMGĪRĪ. The great Indian work on UṢŪL FIQH, the MUSALLAM AL THABŪT by Muḥibb Allāh Bihārī is given a place, second only to the early standard works.

As regards Ḥadīth, the only work left for the later generations was to arrange and re-arrange them in different ways and to compose commentaries upon them. India has performed both these tasks. Works such as KANZAL 'UMMĀL, LAH'ĀT TANQIḤ and MUSAWWĀ are of this type.

As to the Qur'ānic literature, the Prophet had forbidden his followers to comment upon any Qur'ānic verse without reference to Ḥadīth; and so Ḥadīth is inevitable for TAFSĪR also. After the authoritative collections of Ḥadīth had been made, there was no special demand for original commentaries. People, however, went on writing commentaries from various points of view, and are still writing them; but the sources are the same. India produced two commentaries that are entirely original as far as the style is concerned: one is SAWĀTĪ' AL ILHĀM in which dotted letters have been throughout avoided, and the other is JABB SHAGH AB in which dotted letters only have been used.

As regards scholastic theology, one may say that this field is so vast and that there will always be some scope for original work; but this branch of learning after a time became so stagnant that nothing new outside India was achieved. In India, however, Shāh Walī Allāh wrote HUJJAT ALLĀH AL BĀLIĠAH, which, if not entirely original, contains a considerable amount of originality, and its merits have been duly recognised by Muslim scholars in other countries also.

As regards TAFSĪR, hardly any country showed any originality after the composition of the standard works on the subject. India produced JAWĀHIR KHAMSAH which is original as far as those astrological aspects of qur'ān practices are concerned which have been taken from, or influenced by, Hindū learning.

As to philosophy, in producing commentaries and super-commentaries which, with a few exceptions, constitute the whole of the philosophical composition of the Muslim authors after the golden age of Islamic learning, India has not lagged behind. Logic has chiefly appealed to the mind of the Indian Muslim; and after the composition of the standard works on logic, in no other country has such a book been written as SULLAM AL 'ULŪM by Muhibb Allāh, an Indian scholar.

As regards history, belles lettres, and poetry, India has not achieved much in these branches of Arabic literature, as compared with other countries; and the reasons are obvious. Arabic was never spoken in India, and the language of the rulers was Persian. Yet Ghulam 'Alī Āzād was no mean poet, and he left behind seven Diwans in Arabic, possessed of distinguished characteristics, and has shown some originality in his poetry.

In the matter of lexicography, it may be said that important books such as 'UNĀB, TĀJ AL 'ARUS etc. are works by Indian scholars. In grammar, IRSHĀD, by Shihāb al Dīn is arranged on original lines as far as the plan and style of

the book are concerned. In rhetoric new figures of speech were invented by Amīr Khusrāw and Āzād, and he also introduced some Sanskrit literary devices into Arabic literature.

As regards mathematics, after the classical and golden period of Islamic culture, very little was produced in the Arabic language in this branch. During the later period, Bahā' al-Dīn was a great mathematician in Persia, and his KHULĀṢAT AL ḤISĀB, a treatise on arithmetic, was commented upon by more than one scholar in India.

In medicine, apart from commentaries and glosses, on the standard works, QARĀBĀDĪNS have been written in India, and they contain the results of the personal experiments and researches of the authors.

In regard to the commentaries and glosses compiled in India, it may be stated generally that they are often more useful and more copious than those produced outside India. For instance, Ḥajjī Khalīfah speaks highly of the glosses of 'Abd al-Hakīm wherever he mentions them. Professor Margoliouth has, to the credit of India, expressed his appreciation of a ḤASHIYAT AL BAYDĀWĪ composed in India, in his preface to Christomathia Baiḍawiana. (1)

Arabic being altogether a foreign language in India, Indian Muslims have naturally taken greater pains in elucidating the linguistic difficulties of Arabic literature than the people of any Arabic-speaking country. Notes and glosses written by Englishmen on English books are, from the standpoint of an Indian student, not so useful as those written by Indian authors.

has earned a name as an Arabic poet of India. Undoubtedly

(1) Luzac ed. 1894, p. VI.

(1) Muḥammad Bahīm Baksh, Ḥayāt-i-Walī, pp. 231, 2.

COMPARISON BETWEEN THE CONTRIBUTION OF INDIA
TO ARABIC AND TO PERSIAN LITERATURE.

In India Persian has some advantages over Arabic. Persian is an easy language, and was moreover the official language of the rulers of India for eight centuries. Further, there is direct communication between India and Persia, while the sea cuts off India from Arabic-speaking countries. Hence the contribution of India to Persian literature has been greater than to Arabic. Yet in the domain of theology, philosophy and the sciences in India, not much has been written in Persian, as is also the case in Persia itself. For instance, as regards the qur'ānic literature, we find that in India only a few commentaries have been written in Persian. Mr. Storey's Persian Literature shows that in India there exist about twenty books written on qur'ānic topics in Persian. Out of them only four or five are full commentaries on the whole qur'ān. The hold that Arabic had on Muslim theology even in India, may be judged from the fact that when shāh walī Allāh translated the qur'ān into Persian, the Mawlawis of his age became so antagonistic to him that they wanted to kill him. (1)

Very little has been written in Persian in India on logic, philosophy and scholastic theology; the resources of this language have rather been employed in the composition of fiction and history, and belles lettres; while on the other hand, Arabic has been very little used in India for such purposes. But just as the reputation of Amīr Khusraw and Faydī as two Indian poets of Persian is unquestionable, similarly, Azād has earned a name as an Arabic poet of India. Undoubtedly the mass of Persian historical and poetical literature in India is enormous. Much has been written on Sūfism also

(1) Muḥammad Rahīm Bakhsh, Hayāt -i-Walī, pp. 231, 2.

But in spite of the abundance of Persian literature produced in India, nothing original is found in these contributions. Of course the contents of new histories constitute new material, but such composition does not connote originality. India has also produced some historical literature in Arabic. In Sufistic literature, again, we recognise the same lack of fresh contributions. The Persian poetry of India was merely an imitation of the poetry of Iran. If Persian poetry produced in India differs from the poetry of Persia, it differs not in form or spirit, but in artificiality, in richness of imagination and obscurity of metaphors. The Persian poetry of India is much more artificial, more fanciful and more bombastic than the poetry of Persia; accordingly, the poetry of 'Urī and Faydī is much more appreciated in India and Turkey than in Persia, and a native critic of Persia has remarked of 'Urī that he was a poetical genius but the environments and surroundings of India spoiled his poetry. ⁽¹⁾ Characteristics of a similar nature are found in the Arabic poetry produced in India.

This comparison shows that original contributions, in the true sense of the phrase, are hardly to be expected in the case of a foreign literature. So if India has not made original contributions to Arabic literature, we need not be surprised, to say nothing of the fact that genuine originality in literature is hard to find. Further, it is true that India has not made such rich and abundant contributions to Arabic literature as have the Arabic-speaking countries or those countries which are nearer to Arabia and have had easier and more direct communication with the centres of Arabic learning. Still the achievements of India in this direction are, in view of her geographical and political position, as much as can reasonably be expected of her.

(1) Muḥammad Ḥusayn Azād, *Sukhandānī Fārsī*, chapter on the characteristics of Persian in India.

Here I may briefly trace the history of the spread and promotion of Islāmic learning in India, and give some account of the patronage and encouragement it received from the individual members of the ruling houses.

THE ARAB GOVERNMENT IN INDIA.

Sind and Multān were the first provinces of India to fall under Muslim, i.e. Arab, rule. In the very scanty sources of information which have come down to us regarding the history of that rule, there is practically nothing to be learnt about the condition of Muslim learning there. Mas'ūdī, in an account of the towns of Mangūrah and Multān, which he describes as thriving and prosperous at the time of his visit in 915-16 A.D. makes no mention whatsoever of men of learning, although Maqdisī speaks of some scholars in Mangūrah.⁽⁵⁾ Still it is unlikely that these two towns which were in a thriving condition under the rule of the Arabs were devoid of any organisation for the spread of Islāmic learning, and we find that Abū Ḥafṣ Muḥaddith of Basrah, who, according to one authority, was the first Muslim to compose a book, went to Sind in the early days of the conquest.⁽⁶⁾ Being a TAB'Ī TABĪ'IN, he must have a fountain-head for the narration of Ḥadīth there, and we may with some probability assume that Mangūrah and Multān were the first towns in India to become seats of Islamic learning. Mangūrah, however, soon ceased to exist, and about 980 A.D. Multān was seized by the Karmatians, who probably made it a seat of their own propaganda. In the 5th century we find that Ḥusayn Langa, Sulṭān of Multān, was a great patron of learning and built many schools there. It is stated in the ḤADĪQAT AL AĀLĪN that the Sulṭān on one occasion, having sent an envoy to Gujarāt to inspect its splendid buildings, was much disappointed on his return to hear that with all his wealth he

(5) Maqdisī, 479.

(6) Ibn Sa'd, VII₂, p. 36.

could not hope to erect their like in Multān, whereupon the Wazīr, to console him, declared that although Gujarāt might be noted for its buildings, Multān still surpassed it in learning.⁽⁷⁾

GHAZNAWIDS.

Among the members of the Ghaznawid dynasty we find many great patrons of learning, of whom Maḥmūd, the ruler of Northern India, was one of the earliest, although he was interested chiefly in Persian, his knowledge of Arabic being comparatively slight. He is said to have spent 400,000 dīnārs annually upon learned men and poets,⁽⁸⁾ and it was during his reign that Al-Bīrūnī went to India to study Hindu culture and learning, and to collect materials for his book KITĀB AL-HIND. This scholar dedicated his QĀNŪN MAS'ŪDĪ to Maḥmūd's son and successor, Mas'ūd, who proved himself an even greater friend to learning than his father had been, and induced many learned men to come from all parts of the world to his court.⁽⁹⁾ It was Mas'ūd who made Lahore the capital of the Ghaznawid dominions east of the Indus, and from that date this city has always been a seat of Islāmic learning. Shaykh Muḥammad Ismā'il (d. 448), the first Muḥaddith and Mufasssīr to enter India, settled in Lahore during the reign of this king.⁽¹⁰⁾

Another Ghaznawid patron of learning was Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, who excelled in the art of fine writing and used to send two copies of the Qur'ān, transcribed with his own hand, to Makkah and Madīnah in alternate years.⁽¹¹⁾ To the court of this king was attached Mas'ūd b. Sa'd b. Salmān of Lahore, who was well versed in composition in three languages, Arabic, Persian and Hindi.⁽¹²⁾

(7) Mustafā Husayn, *Hadīqat al Aqālīm*, MS. (In Bri. Mus. 1619, folio 135).

(8) Elliot, III, 63. (9) Firishtah, I, 75.

(10) Raḥmān 'Alī, *Tadhkirah*, pp. 23 and 179.

(11) Firishtah, I, 83. (12) Ghulām 'Alī's *Subḥān*, 26.

Bahrām b. Mas'ūd was also a patron of learning to whom the famous Persian poet Shaykh Nizāmī dedicated his Mathnawī Maḥẓan al Asrār.⁽¹³⁾

GHURIDS.

Of the few kings of this short-lived dynasty, Muḥammad Ghūrī is the most important, although his reputation lies in his military rather than in his literary achievements. He is said, however, to have built mosques and colleges at Ajmere for the spread of Islāmic learning.⁽¹⁴⁾ and Firishtah records that he had a high regard for the learned and the pious.⁽¹⁵⁾

THE SLAVE DYNASTY.

Qutb al Dīn, the founder of the Slave dynasty was the first Muslim king to make Delhi the capital of the Muslim rule in India. He also built many mosques which were centres of both religion and learning.

In the time of Iltutmish Delhi had become the resort of learned men, and we find that several scholars took refuge there after the sack of Bukhārā by Changīz Khān.⁽¹⁶⁾ Among the celebrated men of piety and learning to be found there at this time were Fakhr al-Mulk, for thirty years Wazir of the Caliph of Baghdād, and a man much renowned for his wisdom and learning who, having to leave Baghdād was appointed prime minister at the court of Delhi;⁽¹⁷⁾ and Hāsan al-Baghānī of Lahore, an eminent Muhaddīth and philologist, attached to the court of Iltutmish as Ambassador of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph at Baghdād.

Sulṭān Nāsir al-Dīn was himself a scholar, and excelled in the art of calligraphy. He used to live on the proceeds

(13) Firishtah, I., 86. (14) Elliot, II, 215.

(15) Firishtah, I. 105. (16) Ibid, 115. (17) Ibid, I, 118.

of the sale of copies of the Qur'ān which he himself transcribed. (18)

By the time of Balban, another patron of learning belonging to this dynasty, Delhi had become such a large and important centre of learning, and such a favourite resort of scholars, as to merit the enthusiastic praises sung in its honour by Amīr Khusrāw, who compared the city very favourably with the educational centres of Central Asia. Indeed, as Changīz Khān was still busy sacking those very centres, many of their princes and learned men sought refuge in Delhi at this time, and thus increased the sum of its learning. (19)

Balban's attitude towards the custodians of Islāmic learning may be judged from the fact that on his return from Bengal, after a three months' absence, he visited the learned men in their houses and offered them various presents. (20) Firishta says that his reign was "KHAYR AL A'ŠĀR" (the best period), in which flourished scholars and saints, such as Farīd al-Dīn Shahr Ganj, Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā, etc. (21)

THE KHILJĪ DYNASTY.

Sultān Jalāl al-Dīn, the founder of the Khiljī dynasty, was also a patron of men of letters, as we may gather from the long list of learned men who flourished in his reign, recorded by 'Abd al-Qādir Badā'ūnī. (22)

Of his successor, 'Alā' al-Dīn, however, Baranī tells us that "He was a man of no learning, and never associated with men of learning." (23) Yet we find that scholars and theologians such as Qāḍī Miyyā al-Dīn Bayānawī, Zahīrī Lang and Qāḍī Muḥith al-Dīn were attached to his court. With the last-

(18) Firishta, I., 123.

(19) Ibid, I, 131.

(20) Ibid, I, 141.

(21) Ibid, I, 145.

(22) Badā'ūnī, vol. I, 181. (23) Baranī, Elliot, III, 158.

mentioned qāḍī he once had a long conversation which fortunately ended in a reward to the qāḍī, contrary to his expectation of being put to death.⁽²⁴⁾ The literary life of Delhi at that time was in a vigorous and prosperous state, although the Sultān had no literary taste or zeal. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq of Delhi says: "During the time of Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn, Delhi was the great rendezvous for all the most learned and erudite persons; for notwithstanding the pride, the neglect, and the want of kindness and cordiality towards this class of people, the spirit of the age remained the same."⁽²⁵⁾ Firishtah says that in no other age was such a concourse of men of letters and science to be seen in Delhi as during this reign, and he has given the names of forty-six scholars and learned men of this period.⁽²⁶⁾ Amīr Khusrāw, the poet laureate, used to compose poems in Arabic as well as in Persian. In his I'JAZ-I-KHUSRAWĪ he has given Arabic examples of his own composition, side by side with Persian, to illustrate all the rhetorical contrivances he invented. Of the learned men and scholars of this age, he has most highly praised Shihāb al-Dīn Ṣadr Naṣhīn for his learning and his mastery of the Arabic language, in which he used to compose elegant verses.⁽²⁷⁾ Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', one of the greatest saints and ḡurīs of his age, whose Arabic KHUTAB are still recited and admired in India, also flourished at this time. And it was during this reign that the learned Muhaddith Shams al-Dīn came from Egypt to Multān to spread the studies of Ḥadīth in India. He brought with him about four hundred works on Ḥadīth, and intended to present a commentary of his own to the Sultān 'Alā' al-Dīn; but he found on arrival that the Sultān did not say his prayers nor visit the Mosque on Fridays, and this so greatly disappointed him that he returned forthwith to Egypt. But before going, he wrote a long and interesting letter to the Sultān, which is contained in the T'arīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī.⁽²⁸⁾

(24) Firishtah I, 192. (25) Elliot, VI, 485.

(26) Firishtah, I, 212 & 213. (27) Amīr Khusrāw, Dab̄schah-i-Churrat al-Kamāl. (28) Baranī, T'arīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī.

THE TUGHLAQ DYNASTY.

Sultān Ghiyāth al-Dīn, the founder of the Tughlaq dynasty, had a great respect for religious and learned authorities, and the story goes that on one occasion, when a polemical discussion was being held in his presence, upon the subject of Samā', the leader of the controversy, Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā, so skilfully defended its lawfulness that the Sultān, who had previously held Samā' to be unlawful, was converted to the opposite opinion. (29)

The next Sultān of this house, Muhammad Tughlaq, was a scholar and a patron of learning, and an accomplished calligraphist, (30) whose letters in Arabic and Persian are elegant productions. Of this monarch, Abū 'Abbās, the author of MASĀLIK AL-ABṢĀR, writes that he was noted for knowing the Qurān by heart, that he was fond of the Hidayah, a work on Fiqh, and that he enjoyed conversing with the learned. (31) Ibn Baṭṭutah, the famous traveller enjoyed his patronage when in India.

Yet, strangely enough, in spite of his being thus well disposed towards the learned, and himself a scholar, there was not the same concourse of literati in Delhi under Muhammad Tughlaq as there had been in the time of the illiterate 'Alā' al-Dīn. We learn, indeed, from 'Abd Al-Haqq that, after the reign of the last-named monarch, the standard of wisdom and erudition began to sink to a lower level, and although Sultān Muhammad appreciated all kinds of learning, yet there was not such a number of learned men flourishing in his time. (32) This was due to two causes: (1) the barren rule of Mubarak Khilji, and (2) the whimsical projects of Muhammad Tughlaq

(29) Piraishtah, II, 744.

(30) Baranī, Elliot, III, 235-6.

(31) Ibid, 530.

(32) Elliot, VI., 486.

himself, in making Dawlatābād his capital instead of Delhi - a project which brought ruin upon a city which for nearly two hundred years had grown in prosperity to such an extent as to rival Baghdād and Cairo.

On the death of Muhammad Tughlaq, Dawlatābād declined and Delhi began to recover. Ẓirūz, it is true, built another new capital, but it was quite close to Delhi, and there was a spirit of healthy competition between the two, so far as education was concerned. Ẓirūz, moreover, besides being one of the most pious kings of India, was a great scholar and patron of learning. The high regard he had for the learned was evinced by the arrangements he made for their reception at his court; ⁽³³⁻⁾ and of the three palaces which he erected - The Palace of Grapes (Maḥall-i-Angūr), the Palace of the Wooden Gallery (Maḥall-i-Chūja-i-Chūbīn), and the Palace of the Public Court (Maḥall-i-Bār-i-'Ām), the first was intended for the reception of nobles and of distinguished scholars. 'Abd al-Haqq has given a short account of some of the learned men who flourished in this reign, of whom we may mention two or three, such as Mawlānā Khwājagī, the teacher of Shihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī, Aḥmad Thānasarī, an Arabic poet, whose AL QAṢĪDAT AL DĀLIYYAH is admired for its beauty and elegance, and 'Abd al-Muqtadir, who also used to compose verses in Arabic, of which AL QAṢĪDAT AL-LĀMIYYAH, written in reply to the LĀMIYYAT AL 'AJAM, is a masterpiece.

Another patron of learning, attached to the court of Ẓirūz was Tātār Khan, under whose patronage a Compendium of Fiqh, entitled AL FATĀWĀ TĀTĀR KHĀNIYYAH, was composed by the eminent scholar 'Alim b. 'Alā' Andapathī; nor must we forget that Majd al-Dīn Ẓirūzābādī, the author of the QĀMŪS visited India during the reign of this Sulṭān.

(33) 'Arif's Ta'rikh-i-Ẓirūz Shāhī, Elliot, III, 317.

(34) Majma' al-Bihar, 101

On the death of Firūz, the power of the House of Tughlaq began to decline and the glory to fade. During the time of his successor, Mahmūd, Timūr invaded India, and many prosperous towns were ruined, Delhi itself being sacked for five days; and consequently a great many of the scholars fled for refuge to the seats of different minor kingdoms, amongst which Jawnpūr became most prominent.

THE SAYYID DYNASTY.

This dynasty was very short-lived, the last king being expelled from Delhi by Bahlūl Lūdī, the founder of the next dynasty. He retired to Bada'un, where he lived for thirty years, thus causing the town to rise into prominence as a centre of Muslim learning.

THE LŪDĪ DYNASTY.

Meanwhile, Bahlūl Lūdī, the founder, as we have said, of the new line, was also the founder of a new capital, Agra, which very soon made such rapid progress that within forty or fifty years it became a rival to the old capital. Bahlūl also was very fond of the society of learned men, and patronised them with a nice discrimination of their merits. He restored peace and order to the country and hence may be said to have fostered the revival of literary activities.

But it was not until the time of his successor, Sikandar, that Agra actually became the capital, by which time it had begun to attract men of letters and arts. Sikandar himself often used to attend the lectures of the learned 'Abd Allāh Tulanbi, an eminent scholar of high philosophical attainments, taking his seat unobtrusively so that the class might not be disturbed.⁽³⁴⁾ This 'Abd Allāh originally came from Multān, when the royal patronage attracted him to Delhi, where he

(34) Rahman 'Alī Tadhkirah, 101

considerably raised the standard of philosophical studies which, together with that of scholastic theology, had formerly been very low.

The Sulṭān was fond of attending religious debates and polemics, and on one occasion of this sort, he witnessed the attempts of a Hindu named Budhan to defend his own religion against a considerable number of Muslim learned men. In spite of his bold contention, the Hindu's arguments were ably refuted, and upon his refusal to submit to Islām, he was put to death. (35)

The author of Ta'rikh-i-Bā'udī (36) records of this monarch as follows: "Seventeen learned men were constantly with him in his private room. He used to eat his dinner after midnight when these seventeen scholars, after washing their hands, seated themselves in front of the Sulṭān, who ate his food. Food was also served for his seventeen companions, who were, however, forbidden to partake of it in his presence. When the king had finished, they carried their plates away to their houses."

Sikander also attracted to his court at Agrā the eminent Muhaddith Rafi' al-Dīn Shirāzī, a pupil of Muhaqqiq Dawwānī, who had recently come to Gujarāt from Persia and who continued (37) to give his lectures on Ḥadīth at Agrā until his death in 954.

THE MUGHAL DYNASTY

Bābur, the founder of this dynasty, was well-versed in Arabic, Persian and Turkish, and much interested also in (38)raphy, of which he invented a new variety, named after him. A copy of the Qur'ān transcribed by him Bāburī handwriting was sent to Makkah. His literary taste is shown

(35) Firishtah, I, 335.

(36) Elliot, IV, 446.

(37) Ibid, 65.

(38) Bada'ūnī, I., 343.

in the authorship of several books, the most important of which is the *TUZUK-I-NĀBURĪ*; and *ṬABAQĀT-I-SHĀHJAHĀNĪ* contains short accounts of the saints and literati who were his contemporaries. (39)

Humāyūn, also a patron of learning and letters and the owner of a fine library, was interested in the studies of astronomy and geography, and wrote dissertations on the nature of the elements. He was fond of the company of the learned and poets, (40) and attracted many foreign scholars to his court. *ṬABAQĀT-I-SHĀHJAHĀNĪ* contains a list of these saints and learned men who flourished in his time, with short biographical notes.

This king divided his subjects into three classes, (41) *AHL AL SA'ĀDAT*, the saints and learned men, *AHL AL DAWLAT*, the pillars of the state and the relations of the Sultān, and *AHL AL MURĀD*, musicians and singers and similar persons. Saturdays and Thursdays were allotted to the first class, because Saturday is ascribed to Saturn, the protector of the pious and religious, and Thursday to Jupiter, the preserver of Sayyids and scholars.

THE AFGHAN DYNASTY.

Shīr Shāh completed his education at Jawnpūr, which at that time was one of the most important centres of education in India, (42) and studied Arabic up to the standard of *KĀFIYAH* with its commentary by Shihāb al-Dīn of Dawlatābādī. He was favourable disposed towards scholars and learned men and built a college at Mārnowl.

(39) *Ṭabaqāt-i-Shāhjahānī* (MS. Bri. Museum) fol. 152.

(40) *Firishtah* (Humāyūn).

(41) *Humāyūn-Nāmah*. Elliot, V, 119-120.

(42) *Badā'unī*, 1357.

His son Salim was also a great friend of the literati, one of his favourite scholars being 'Abd Allāh Sulṭānpūrī who was afterwards attached to the court of Humāyūn and then to that of Akbar. Humāyūn gave him the title of Shaykh al-Islām and Makhdūm al-Mulk. (43)

THE MUGHAL DYNASTY (AGAIN).

About Akbar there is a question as to whether he was literate or not; there is no doubt, however, that he was ignorant of Arabic. Yet he was certainly one of the greatest patrons of learning and letters in India, and a large number of scholars well versed in various branches of arts and sciences were attached to his magnificent court. Ṭabaqāt-i-Shāhjahānī, Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh, and Ā'īn-i-Akbarī all contain lists of the saints and learned men of his reign. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq of Delhi is credited with having encouraged the study of Ḥadīth among Indian Muslims. Faydī, the poet laureate, had a wonderful mastery over the Arabic language, as is proved by his works, such as BAWĀTĪ' AL ILHĀM and MAWĀRID AL KILĀM, written throughout without the use of dotted letters. Mūr Allāh Shustarī was an eminent scholar of the Shī'ite school and the author of several books. Akbar was very fond of books, and had a very large library.

Jahāngīr, unlike his father Akbar, was well educated, and he also patronised scholars and learned men and built many schools and colleges. Ṭabaqāt-i-Shāhjahānī and Iqbāl Nāmah contain lists of the literati of his reign.

But Shāhjahān was even more learned than his father, besides being of a religious turn of mind. He therefore gave a great impetus and encouragement to orthodox learning, and many scholars and learned men flourished during his long and prosperous reign, of whom Maḥmūd Jawnpūrī, Mūr al-Ḥaqq, 'Abd

(43) Rahman 'Alī Ṭadhkirah, 103.

(44) Rahmān's Mughal Empire, p. 23.

al-Ḥakīm Siyālkūtī, 'Abd al-Raḥīm, 'Abd al-Bāqī and Muḥibb Allāh of Allāhābād are the most eminent. All of them are the authors of several books.

'Ālaṅgīr was a still greater scholar, and yet more pious and religious. He earnestly promoted the education of Muslims and the diffusion of Muslim learning throughout his empire. Mr. Keene, in his MUGHAL EMPIRE,⁽⁴⁴⁾ writes of him as follows:

"Aurangzib abolished capital punishment, encouraged agriculture, founded numberless colleges and schools and systematically constructed roads and bridges."

Besides these activities, he appointed a committee of learned theologians under the leadership of Shaykh Niẓām, to compose a compendium on the Ḥanafī Fiqh, and spent an enormous amount of money on this enterprise. This work is the FATĀWĀ 'ĀLANGĪRĪ, better known outside India as AL FATĀWĀ AL-HINDIYYAH. Some of the scholars who flourished in his reign are Mullā Jīvan, Muḥibb Allāh Bihārī, Mīr Zuhd, and Qaṭṭāl-Dīn Sahālawī, all of whom have several books to their credit.

With the death of 'Ālaṅgīr, the power and glory of the Mughal Empire began to decline. Bahādur Shāh was fond of the company of learned men, but Muḥammad Shāh indulged shamefully in debauchery and luxury, and the succeeding kings had no power. But it is curious to note that in spite of the rapid decay of the Mughal power after the death of 'Ālaṅgīr and notwithstanding the lack of peace and order in the country, this period produced a large number of eminent scholars, amongst whom we may mention specially, 'Abd al-Jalīl, Ghulām 'Alī Āzād, Sayyid Dildar 'Alī Shī'ī Mujtahid, Salām Allāh Muḥaddith, Shāh Walī Allāh, Shāh 'Abd al-'Āzīz, 'Abd al-'Alī Baḥr 'Ulum, Faḡl Imām, Faḡl Ḥaqq Khayrābādī, Turāb 'Alī, Muḥammad Ḥasan, Muḥammad Muḥīn, Thana' Allāh Pānīpatī, Ḥamd Allāh, and Ahmad 'Alī of Sandīlā. During this time also there arose several new

(44) Keene's Mughal Empire, p. 23.

seats of learning, such as Lucknow, Gūpāna'ū, Khayrābād, Rāmpūr and Farrukhābād. From all which we may conclude that the Mughal period was the golden age of Muslim India.

Here it should be noted that the Honourable East India Company contributed a great deal to the cause of Muslim learning in India by the establishment of the famous college of Port William at Calcutta.

THE MINOR KINGDOMS OF INDIA.

The empire of Muhammad Tughlaq included the whole of India, with Tilingāna and districts in the Deccan. Before his death the more distant provinces began to achieve independence, and soon after the 15th century, the greater part of his empire was in the hands of seven provincial Muslim Dynasties, to wit;—⁽⁴⁵⁾

1. Governors and kings of Bengal ... 1202-1576.
2. Sharqī Kings of Jawnpūr ... 1394-1500.
3. Kings of Mēlwa ... 1401-1530.
4. Kings of Gujarāt ... 1396-1572.
5. Kings of Kashmir ... 1334-1587.
6. Kings of Khāndīsh... 1399-1599.
7. Bahmanī Kings of Gulburga ... 1347-1526.

THE KINGDOM OF BENGAL

The various ruling houses of Bengal were all more or less patrons of learning and letters, and schools and colleges were founded by them in various parts of the country, among which Lucknawti soon rose to prominence as a seat of learning.

During the later period of this kingdom we may mention the name of Nawwāb Murhīd Qulī Ja'far-Khān (1704-28) as that of a good calligraphist who used to send copies of the Qur'ān in his own handwriting to Makkah and Madīnah, together with valuable presents.⁽⁴⁶⁾

(45) Lane-Poole, Muhammadan Dynasties, 304.

(46) Stewart's History of Bengal, 406.

THE KINGDOM OF JAWNPŪR (SHARQĪ KINGS).

The Sharqī dynasty, though short-lived, patronised learning and education to such a degree that Jawnpūr continued to be a great seat of Muslim learning long after the kingdom had been overthrown by the Imperial dynasty. One zealous king of this house, Ibrāhīm Sharqī, who was very fond of the company of learned men, built many schools and colleges at Jawnpūr. The following anecdote, given by Firishta⁽⁴⁷⁾, illustrates the high esteem in which he held scholars. Shihāb al-Dīn, an eminent scholar of the age, once fell seriously ill, and the king went to visit him. Whilst sitting by the bed of the invalid, he asked for a glass of water, and when it was handed to him, he passed it three times around the learned patient's head and then drank it, praying thus: "O God! let me endure all the trouble that my qādī is destined to meet, and restore him to health."

As we have said, it was at Jawnpūr that Shīr Khān received his education, and this city continued to enjoy a high reputation as a seat of learning up to a much later date. Shāhjahān used to call it "SHĪRĀZ-I-HIND", and in connection with this the following extract is of interest:

"Mr. Duncan writes too favourably of the site, and laments the decay of the town, telling how it once was the seat of Muhammādan learning, and the residence of many of their learned men, insomuch that it was known by the appellation of the Shīrāz of India. Though no trace be now left of the schools but the story of their past fame, we have better ground than Mr. Duncan's for saying that this city was the Shīrāz of India Each of the princes of Jawnpūr prided himself on patronising science, and the troubles which in the early part of the fourteenth century scattered the doctors of the ancient Imperial city were

(47) Firishta, II. 595.

eminently favourable to the rise of a school of learning in the peaceful and secure Jawnpūr. Even in Muhammad Shāh's time, twenty famous schools existed in Jawnpūr, of which now but names are known." (48)

The remnants of the past literary glory of Jawnpūr are still to be found in the neighbouring towns. Chiryāket and A'zamgarh, for instance, are still noted for learning, and the latter has recently become a prominent centre of Islāmic studies in India, through the establishment there by Mawlāna Shibli of an academy called Dār al-Maʿannifīn."

THE KINGDOM OF MALWA.

The Kings of Malwa were among the patrons and friends of learning, and Sulṭān Mahmūd especially encouraged the presence of scholars and learned men in his dominion, and built there many schools and colleges. In the harem of another king, Ghiyāth al-Dīn, there were seventy women who knew the Qur'ān by heart. (49)

THE KINGS OF GUJARĀT.

Ahmad Shāh I. founded the city of Ahmadābād which soon became the capital of the kingdom and rose into prominence as a seat of learning when a large number of literati and doctors were attracted to it by the generosity of its rulers. Before this kingdom was founded, pilgrims to the Hijaz generally travelled overland in preference to using the sea route, but when the rulers of Gujarāt grew more powerful and their sway extended up the coast, they organised the sea traffic and thereby greatly facilitated the pilgrimage and attracted many Arab scholars to Ahmadābād and the Deccan States. When this kingdom was annexed to the Mughal Empire, the benefits of the sea route were extended to Northern India also.

(48) Führer, Archaeological Survey of India, new series, vol. I, 21-22. (Law's Promotion of Learning in India, p. 104) (49) Wāq'āt-i-Muhtaqī, Elliot, IV, 554

THE KINGDOM OF KHANDISH.

Burhānpur, the capital of this kingdom was not behind in literary matters, and produced such eminent scholars as 'Alī Muttaqī and Muḥammad Faḡl Allāh.

THE BAHMANĪ KINGDOM.

The rulers of this kingdom also patronised learning, and Maḥmūd Shāh founded many schools for the education of orphans. He was both a poet and a prose writer, besides being a good calligraphist and well versed in Arabic, which he spoke fluently.⁽⁵⁰⁾ His patronage of letters attracted many Arabic and Persian poets to his court, and among the latter even the famous ḡufī poet, Nāfiḡ, once accepted his invitation, although later he changed his mind and sent the king an ode instead of paying him a visit.

Fīrūz Bahmanī was as great a patron of learning as was his namesake, Fīrūz Shāh of the Imperial dynasty. He himself was a learned man, and Firishtah⁽⁵¹⁾ writes that his harem contained ladies of various races, such as Arabians, Persians, Turks, Chinese, Afghāns, Bengalīs, Europeans, etc., and that he could talk with each of them in her own tongue. He was well versed in Tafsīr, Usūl and physics, and used to lecture to students on mathematics, scholastic theology and the like three days a week. He was also a good calligraphist, and every fourth day he would copy one-fourth of a Juz' of the Qur'ān.⁽⁵²⁾ His ships were sent to different countries to invite the learned men in each to visit his court.⁽⁵³⁻⁾

The other kings of this line were all more or less patrons of letters, as may be seen from this extract from Fergusson's "Architecture at Bijāpūr".⁽⁵⁴⁾

(50) Firishtah, I, 576. (51) Ibid, I, 592.

(52) Ibid. 598 (53) Ibid. 590.

(54) Fergusson's Architecture at Bijāpūr, p. 12. (Law's Promotion of Learning in India, p. 90.)

"If we cannot compare the Bahmanī Kings with their European contemporaries yet there can be no doubt that the high civilisation according to the standard of Muhammadanism existed ... Education in Persian and Arabic literature was extended as much as possible by village schools, which were attached to mosques and endowed with lands. The system tended as well to the spread of literature as of the faith of the ruling power, and its effects are still distinctly traceable throughout the wide extent of their dominion."

THE FIVE DECCAN DYNASTIES.

The decay of the Bahmanī house resulted in the rise of five Deccan kingdoms, of which three - the 'Adil Shāhī house of Bījāpūr, the Quṭb Shāhī house of Gulkandah, and the Nizām Shāhī house of Ahmad-Nagar - are worthy of mention.

The 'ADIL SHĀHĪ HOUSE OF BĪJĀPŪR was noted for its patronage of learning and possessed a beautiful library containing a valuable collection of manuscripts, some of which are now in the India Office Library.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Among the learned men who enjoyed this patronage were the author of ZAHRAI RIYĀD and certain Arabic scholars from Malabar, whilst Zayn al-Dīn dedicated his TUHĀFAT AL MUJĀHIDĪN to 'Alī 'Adil Shāh (d. 987)

The QUTB SHĀHĪ HOUSE OF GULKANDAH also took a keen interest in literary matters, and Muhammad Qulī Quṭb Shāh built many colleges, the most elegant being the GHĀR MĪNĀR, which is still standing in the centre of Haydarābād. The later kings of this line attracted to their court many scholars from Arabia, amongst them the father of Ibn Ma'qūn, author of Sulāfah and of several other works, who enjoyed the patronage of 'Abd Allāh Quṭb Shāh. It was in fact due to the generosity of this house that Ibn Ma'qūn himself came to India from Arabia.

(55) Loth, Cat. of Arabic MSS in the Ind. Off. Lib. (Preface)

The NIZĀM SHĀHĪ HOUSE OF AHMAD-NAGAR likewise attracted some Arabian scholars, and some Arabic books were dedicated to kings of this house. CHAPTER I.

In this connection it should be noted that Southern India, on account of its geographical position and of the literary zeal of its rival kingdoms, had great opportunity for attracting to itself scholars from Arabia, and just as the Mughal courts had attached to them many poets and scholars of Persia, so the courts of the Deccan kingdom extended their patronage to the poets and scholars of Arabia.

the most important contribution of India to Arabic literature undoubtedly begins with the Ghaznavid period, the tenth century A.D.; but she also certainly made some contributions to Arabic, at least in respect of vocabulary and otherwise, from a much earlier period. However insignificant they may be, they deserve notice. But before enumerating them, some account may be given of the relations between India and Arabia during the pre-Ghaznavid period.

LEGENDARY RELATIONS.

Legend speaks of relations between these two countries, before the dawn of history. In the Muslim literature there are many traditions which refer to the legend that Adam, the father of mankind, being driven out of Paradise, alighted on the peak, called after him, of a mountain in Ceylon. When his repentance was accepted by God he was brought to Arafat near Mecca where he met Eve who had been thrown down at Jiddah. These traditions are not only found in the religious literature of Islam but also in works of history and geography. For example, we find this legend in the works of Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276 A.H.), Maqdisi (d. 375 A.H.) and Yaqut-Hamawi (d. 626 A.H.) (1)

(1) Tabari, *T'arikh*, I., 119 & following pages.
Tabari, *Tafsir*, Commentary on the verses I. 36.

(2) Ibn Qutaybah, *Ma'arif* (Gottengen) p. 9. Maqdisi, p. 13
Yaqut's *Ma'jam*, V., 74.

In the legend there is a controversy about the place of the death of Adam. According to one or two traditions (3) he is said to have died in Ceylon.

CHAPTER I.

CONTRIBUTION OF INDIA TO ARABIC LITERATURE

DURING THE PRE-GHAZNAWID PERIOD.

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The most important contribution of India to Arabic literature undoubtedly begins with the Ghaznawid period, the tenth century A.D.; but she also certainly made some contributions to Arabic, at least in respect of vocabulary and otherwise, from a much earlier period. However insignificant they may be, they deserve notice. But before enumerating them, some account may be given of the relations between India and Arabia during the pre-Ghaznawid period.

LEGENDARY RELATIONS.

Legend speaks of relations between these two countries, before the dawn of history. In the Hadith literature there are many traditions which refer to the legend that Adam, the father of mankind, being driven out of Paradise, alighted on the peak, called after him, of a mountain in Ceylon. (1) When his repentance was accepted by God he was brought to 'Arafāt near Mecca where he met Eve who had been thrown down at Jiddah. These traditions are not only found in the religious literature of Islam but also in works of history and geography. For example, we find this legend in the works of Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276 A.H.), Maqdasī (d. 375 A.H.) and Yāqūt^a-Hamawī (d. 626 A.H.) (2)

(1) Tabari, T'arikh, I., 119 & following pages.
Tabari, Tafsir, Commentary on the verse I. 28.

(2) Ibn Qutaybah, Ma'arif (Gottengen) p. 9, Maqdasī, p. 13
Yaqut's Mu'jam, V., 74.

In the legend there is a controversy about the place of the death of Adam. According to one or two traditions (3) he is said to have died in Ceylon.

He is also said to have made many pilgrimages, not less than forty, to Mecca, going back to Ceylon every time. (4)

It is also asserted that the Black stone of the Ka'bah, in the form of a brilliant ruby, fell from Paradise along with Adam and was carried to Mecca when he was ordered by God to build the Ka'bah. (5)

The story of Hābil and Qābil is said to have taken place in India according to one tradition. (6)

According to this legend, Arabia and India had had intercourse with each other from the very beginning of the human life on the earth.

RELATIONS OF HISTORICAL TRUTH.

Though political relations between India and Arabia were first established as late as the seventh century after Christ, yet these two countries, entirely different from each other in race and language, had been connected through trade from so early a time as the commencement of the seventh century before Christ, or perhaps even from pre-historic times. (7)

Two of the three routes by which trade was carried in ancient times between India and the West, passed through Arabia. The first route ran from the mouth of the Indus

(3) Ghulam Ali Azad, Subhat al Marjan (Bombay) 1st Section.

(4) Ibid

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibid.

(7) Rawlinson, Intercourse between India and the West, first chapter.

(8) Qur'ān, XV. 79.

(9) Tabarī, Tafsīr, Part 22nd, p. 88.

(10) Ibid, Part 30th, p. 197.

and up the Euphrates, at the point where the road branches off to Antioch and the Levantine ports. This route attained high importance during the golden days of the Babylonian Empire, with the decay of which it fell into oblivion.

The second route, more important than the first, lay from the Indian coast to that of Yaman and Hadramut and from there, passing along the Red Sea coast, to Syria and thence to Europe, either directly from the Syrian coast or via Egypt and Alexandria. This route was of great importance and the prosperity of South-west Arabia in ancient times was largely due to it, and it formed a highway of commercial traffic until the Ptolemies established an overland route from India to Alexandria. (8)

This route, passing from Yaman to Syria through the Hijāz, has been referred to in the Qur'ān as IMĀM MUBĪN (A Manifest Road). (9) This Imām Mubīn has been generally taken by the commentators to be the road passing from Yaman to Syria. Another Qur'ānic verse, referring to the commercial caravans of Saba, throws some light on the prosperity of this route. This verse (XXXIV, 18) is as follows:

"And we made continuous towns between them"
 "(the people of Saba) "and the towns which
 "We had blessed-" (the Syrian towns)- "and We
 "apportioned the journey: Travel through
 "then nights and days."

In this verse, the phrase "qurā Zāhirah" has been explained by Tabarī to mean qurā Mutawāsilah (continuous towns), that is to say, towns lying close to one another. (10) In the Qur'ān there is another reference, though indirect, to this

commerce carried by the Quraysh. In verse CVI, 1. لَيْدِ قَرْنِ
لَيْدِ قَرْنِ the summer and winter journeys mean
 those made by the Quraysh on the highway called Imām Mubīn. (11)

(8) Encyclopaedia Britannica, 11th edit. vol. II, p. 264.

(9) Qur'ān, XV. 79.

(10) Tabarī, Tafair, Part 22nd, p. 58.

(11) Ibid, Part 30th, p. 197.

It is certain that Ceylon was early known to the Arabs on account of its pearl fisheries and trade in precious stones, and Arab merchants had formed commercial establishments there centuries before the rise of Islam.⁽¹²⁾ When and how the Muslims reached the island is unknown. From Balādhuri it appears that some Muslim merchants had been there long before the attack on Sind by Muhammad b. Qāsim. The cause of this attack has been stated by Balādhuri to have been vengeance for the plunder, by some pirates of Debal, of vessels which the ruler of Ceylon had despatched, filled with Muslim orphans.⁽¹³⁾

POLITICAL CONNECTION OF INDIA WITH ARABIA.

The first invasion of the Indian coast by the Arabs was at so early a date as the reign of the second Caliph (13-23. A.H.)⁽¹⁴⁾ But the Arab inroads did not penetrate far until 92 A.H., when Multān with the country of Sind fell before Muhammad b. Qāsim during the reign of Walīd (85-96 A.H.). But his recall by Sulaymān (96-99 A.H.) threw the newly conquered countries into rebellion and chaos.⁽¹⁵⁾ Fresh forces were despatched to subdue the rising. They temporarily achieved some success. At the suggestion of Umar II (99-101 A.H.), the native princes who were still hostile and rebellious embraced Islam, in order to be allowed to rule over their countries without any interference. Thus the hold of the Arabs over Multān and Sind grew weaker and weaker till Muṭamid (256-279 A.H.) conferred the government

(12) Encyclopaedia of Islam, I, 838.

(13) Balādhuri, Būldān, 435.

(14) The whole account taken from Elliot's History of India, vol. I, 414.

(15) Elliot's History, I, 438.

of these provinces upon Ya'qūb b. Layth, the founder of the Saffarid House, in order to divert him from his hostile design against Irāq. When on the death of Ya'qūb, the Saffarid House grew weak, two Muslim kingdoms of Arabs arose on these Indian frontiers with their capitals at Multān and Mansura. In 915-16 these kingdoms were visited by Mas'ūdī who found them in a thriving and prosperous condition. The weakness of the later rulers favoured the progress of the Karmatians and led to the occupation by them of both Mansurah and Multān, from which places the overwhelming forces of Mahmūd Ghaznawī expelled them.

As regards the descendants of the early Arabs in Sind, 'Abd al Razzāq, the minister of the above Sultan, found that in those places only a few of the descendants of the old Arab settlers had remained, bound to the country by family ties, and that being men of learning and ability, they were at that time holding responsible posts. According to the Tuhfat al Kirān, eighteen Sindian families were said to have been sprung from these ancestors. Some of them are Thaqafī, Tanīm, Mughārīdā, Abbāsī, Siddīqī, Farūqī and Uthmānī. (15)

CONTRIBUTION OF INDIA TO ARABIC LITERATURE.

After the above account of the relations between India and Arabia before the Ghaznawid period, it will be easy to make a survey of the contribution of India to Arabic literature during this period.

(1) To begin with, the legend of Adam's alighting on the mountain of Sarandīp may be said to be, in a way, a contribution of India to Arabic literature. When Ceylon was for the first time visited by the Muslims, they, having heard the local traditions about the depression in the peak,

(15) Elliot's History, I, 482.

(16) Rawlinson, above quoted, p. 3.

(20) Qāmūs and Tāj al-Arūs, under the word "Sarandīp".

might, or rather must, have remoulded them to suit their own faith; and in order to give them authority they put them in the mouth of the Prophet.

(2) The commercial intercourse between these two countries introduced many Indian words into the Arabic language. The merchandise imported from India into Arabia consisted of perfumes, spices (such as camphor, sandal, pepper, clove etc.) and precious stones. Arabs naturally borrowed words for these articles from the Indian languages. In some cases the word "Hindī" was added to the words which already existed in Arabic, e.g. 'UD HINDĪ, QIST HINDĪ, TAMAR HINDĪ, etc. The last word became "tamarind" in English.

Indian cloths also used to go to Yaman and thence to the Hijāz. The Arabic words SHĀS and FAWTAH come under this category. The former means "muslin" and the latter a striped cloth imported from India. (16)

Jurjī Zaydān says⁽¹⁷⁾ that the words SURH, DAW and BAHĀ' seem to be of Sanskrit origin, and these words are not found in the sister languages of Arabic. He further considers the word "Misk", which is generally supposed to be of Persian origin, to be the Arabicised form of MISHKA, which he says is a Sanskrit word. (18)

Another word, "Satin" has been said by Rawlinson in his book INTERCOURSE OF INDIA AND THE WEST to be of Sanskrit origin. (19)

The word "Tubā" that occurs in the Qur'ān is said by some to be the name of a paradise in some Indian language. (20)

(16) i. Taj al- 'Arūs, under the word "Fawṭah"
ii, Muḥad. Sulayman, Ard-al-Qur'ān II, chapter on "Arabic language".

(17) Jurjī Zaydān, Ta'rikh Adāb al-Lughat al-Arabiyyah, I, 41

(18) I have failed to find the word "Mishka" in any Sanskrit dictionary.

(19) Rawlinson, above quoted, p. 3.

(20) qāmūs and Taj al- 'Arūs, under the word "TUBĀ"

An Indian sword was very much valued in Arabia; the Arabs called it "MUHAMMAD" and the word frequently occurs in Arabic literature. This word occurs in Ka'b's famous Qasidah Banat Su'ad.

Lastly Al Biruni wrote a book on the Hind with the title

Another reading for the word MUHAMMAD in this couplet is (21)

(3) Another debt which Arabic literature owes to India is the introduction of her numerals into Arabic, in which language they are still called AL RUQUM AL HINDIYYAH. In Arabic writing letters only were used in place of numerals up to the eighth century A.D. when this Indian system passed to the Arabians, probably along with the astronomical tables brought to Baghdad by an Indian ambassador in 773 A.D. The system was explained in Arabic in the early part of the ninth century by the famous scholar Muhammad b. Musa Alkhwārizmī and from that time continued, though at first slowly, to be used throughout the Arabian world. (22)

Al Biruni acknowledges that the Muslim system of Numerals is derived from the best of their (the Hindus') systems. (23) It is a well known fact that this system passed from the Arabians to the West, where these numerals were known as "Arabic Numerals."

(4) Another contribution of India to Arabic literature is astronomical material. Undoubtedly the Arabs had their own science of astronomy, probably taken from the Chaldeans, but during the second century of the Hijra, when the Abbasid caliphate was at its zenith and when extraordinary efforts were made to translate foreign books into Arabic, we find much evidence of the influence of Indian culture on Arabian civilisation. Many books were translated from Sanskrit into

(21) Ibn Qutaybah, Al-Shi'r wa l-Shu'arā. 68.

(22) Encycl. Brit. (11th ed.) XIX, 867.

(23) Al Biruni, Kitab al Hind, p. 82.

Arabic. Of the astronomical works, the Sindhind was the first book to attract the attention of the Arabs. It was first translated by Al-Fazārī (d. 154 A.H.) and a second time by the already mentioned Muhammad b. Mūsā of Khwārm. Lastly Al Biruni wrote a book on the Sindhind with the title of *Various methods of preparing deadly poisons*. (24)

(5) Another equally important contribution of India to Arabic literature is medicine.

Charaka and Susruta occupy the highest position as the medical authorities in the Sanskrit language. (25)

Their works were rendered into Arabic at the close of the eighth century A.D., and quoted as authorities by the celebrated Abu Bakr

Al Razi (d. 932 A.D.) (26). Ibn Nadim gives not less than

fifteen names of those Indian authors whose works had been translated into Arabic by the time of the composition of his *Fihrist*. (27)

None of these renderings are known to exist except a small book of *Shanaq* on poisons. The Berlin Library contains a MS of it. (28)

The original text was, as stated in the preface of the work, first translated into Persian by

Abu Hātim al Balkhī for Khalid al Barmaki in 200 A.H. and

was afterwards rendered into Arabic by Al-Abbas b. Saïd al Jawhart in 210 A.H. Hajji Khalifah has also mentioned it

under the title of the *Kitab al Samum*. (29) The MS. is small

and contains only 84 pages. It is divided into four sections

(*Maqalat*). The first *maqala* is an introduction in which the

(24) Al Biruni, *Chronology of ancient nations*. (Notes by the Editor, p. 370.

(25) Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 434.

(26) *Ibid*, p. 427.

(27) Ibn. Nadim, p. 271.

(28) Berlin Catalogue, No. 6411.

(29) Khalifah, V., 96.

(30) *Encycl. of Islam*, under "Alf laila wa laila."

(31) Ibn Nadim, p. 303.

author says how doctors have invented various compounds of deadly poisons to save the sacred lives of kings. To him, the usage of these poisons is not allowed for anybody except kings. The second chapter deals with the symptoms of the effects of various poisons. The third chapter describes various methods of preparing deadly poisons. For instance, he says that a baby swallow should be devoured by a poisonous snake; then both of them should be shut up in a copper kettle and buried under a cow-dung hill. After a certain number of days, when they are thoroughly decomposed and fermented, the mixture is to be dried up in the sun. A very small quantity of it is sure to kill any man who happens to eat it. The last chapter contains the remedies and antidotes. The author has also given a prescription of an antidote which renders any man that eats it poison-proof.

On the last page the scribe has written that at the instance of the Caliph, the device of bringing up a girl in such a way that whosoever happens to cohabit with her is sure to die at once, has been omitted on account of its being an act of barbarism. The work is of interest as showing the various methods of destroying human life in ancient times.

(6) Two story books, one "Kalilah wa Dimnah" and the other "Alf laylah wa laylah", enjoy an unrivalled position in the domain of light literature. The former is an Indian story which was first translated from Persian into Arabic by Ibn Al-Muqaffa in the eighth century A.D. The subject matter of the latter was also, for the greater part, of Indian origin.⁽³⁰⁾ Ibn Nadin has given several names of story books translated from Sanskrit into Arabic.⁽³¹⁾ All such books may be regarded as a part of the contribution of India to Arabic literature.

(30) Encycl. of Islam, under "Alf laila wa laila."

(31) Ibn Nadin. p. 305.

(7) The game of chess which plays no mean part in Arabic literature is also a contribution of India. "The best authorities agree that chess existed in India before it was known to have been played anywhere else. The word Shatranj is a foreign word among Persians and Arabians while its natural derivation from the Sanskrit word CHATURANG is obvious." (32) Many metaphors and similes have been taken from chess in both Arabic and Persian literatures.

(8) Al-Biruni's Kitab al Hind is one of the most important contributions of India to Arabic literature, not because the author is regarded by some Arabic writers of repute as a resident of Hind, but because the whole subject matter has been taken from India. The name of the author is so associated with India that we can hardly think of Arabic literature produced in that country without thinking of him. Whatever reputation he enjoys as a great scholar of astronomy and mathematics is due largely to the benefits he derived from the writings and works of Indian scholars. Apart from the patronage that he received from the first Sultan of Muslim India and his son, and apart from the facilities given to him by the Ghaznavids, it is impossible to ignore his great obligation to Indian scholars and teachers, at least as far as his knowledge of India and Indian sciences is concerned.

(9) Abu hafr Babi b. Sabih was what is called in the language of Islamic learning, Tabi Tabi In (i.e. one of the companions of the Companions of the Prophet's Companions). He is, according to an authority, said to be the first Muslim to write a book. (33) He was a reliable transmitter of Hadith. He migrated in his later days to Hind where he

(32) Encycl. Brit. under "Chess"

(33) Ibid, 26; Rehman Ali Tadhkira, 3; Siddiq Hasan, Ahjad

(33) Khalifah, I., 80.

(36) Khalifah, I, 133.

died in 160 A.H.⁽³⁴⁾ He is mentioned by Shulam Ali Azad, Rahman Ali and Nawwab Siddiq Hasan as the first Muslim scholar who lived in India.⁽³⁵⁾ All those hadith which he transmitted after going to India may be taken as the first contribution of India to Arabic literature as far as the science of hadith is concerned.

(10-) Sind was, during the first three centuries of the Hijra, an Arab colony where, as said in the foregoing pages, people of more than one tribe settled. These domiciled Arabs must have maintained Arabic as their mother tongue for a long time, and there must have sprung up many a poet among them. But it is a matter of great regret that no account whatever of such intellectual activities of Sindian Arabs and of those natives who must have learnt the language of their rulers, have come down to us. The Futuh al Buldan and other similar books do not throw any light upon this matter. But it may be conjectured that some migrating Arabs must have written some books in Arabic. Hajji Khalifah mentions "Tarikh Sind" among the histories written by the Muslims, but does not give the name of its author.⁽³⁶⁾ Perhaps it was written by some Sindi Arab. The author of Chach Namah says that he has taken the material for his book from an Arabic History written by the ancestor of the man who asked him to render it into Persian. Perhaps this Arabic history of Sind is the same as that to which Khalifah refers. In the absence of any positive evidence and authority it is impossible to say anything definite.

Just as some Arabs settled in Sind, similarly many Sindians were domiciled in Arabia, either as slaves or free men. Of them also very little is known. Sam'ani gives only

(34) Azad, Subhan. p. 26.

(35) Ibid, 26; Rahman Ali Tadhkira, 3; Siddiq Hasan, Abjad al Ulum, 839.

(36) Khalifah, I, 133.

two names under the nisbah "Sindi"; one is Abū Ma shar who has been mentioned as one transmitting hadith to others, and the other is the fairly well known poet Abū Atā Aflah Sindi. (37)

Abū Atā Aflah Sindi was a MAWLA of Bani Asad and was a good poet, which may be judged from this fact, that Abū Tammam Habib thought fit to quote three lines of his in the beginning of the first chapter of his Hamasah.

The author of Kitāb al Aghani has devoted no less than five pages to him. (38) He was one of those poets who sang in the praise of the Umayyids. He flourished during the later part of the Umayyid period and survived his patrons to see the time of the first two Abbasid Caliphs. He died in the reign of Mansur. He tried to sing equally enthusiastically in the praise of his new masters, but they would not accept any poem from him after his having lavishly praised their past enemies. Aflah was his name and Abū Atā his Kunyah. There was something wrong with his tongue. He could not pronounce such letters as Sh, J, etc. His poems were admired, but as his tongue was defective he could not recite them well. Once a certain Sulayman was so pleased with him that he gave him a good-looking boy named Atā to recite his poems for him. This boy proved of great help to him, and the poet was so satisfied with his services that he adopted him as a son and took his kunyah from him. People used to enjoy the defect of his tongue, but he was very sensitive about it, and did not allow them to ask him to pronounce any particular word. The story of Hamad, the famous narrator's, device by which he could succeed in making him pronounce some particular words need not be mentioned here.

(37) Sam ānī, Kitab al ansab, p. 313b

(38) Aghani, XVI, 31-37.

Jurji Zaydan has given the name of another Sindī poet, Kushajim. He definitely says that he was an Indian by origin. (39) But this statement of his seems to be wrong, on the authority of Sam ānī who says that 'Sindī' is both an adjective (i.e. Nisbah) and a proper name, and gives the name of Kushajim as an example of the latter case. (40)

Anyhow, the poetry of Abū Atā Sindī may be taken as one of the contributions of India to Arabic literature during the pre-Chamawid period.

- I. The Prophet, those companions of his and those followers of theirs who verbally commented on Qur'ānic verses, but did not commit their comments to writing:
- II. Those earliest commentators who for the first time actually wrote something by way of commentary on the Qur'ān, transmitting the verbal comments of the Prophet and of his companions.
- III. The commentators of the fourth and fifth centuries of the Muslim era, among whom the celebrated Tabari stands unrivalled and unsurpassed. Their commentaries, just like the books on Hadīth, are full of the traditions and sayings, with the complete chain of the narrators.
- IV. The commentators of the later period, who have omitted the chain of the narrators, except the final authority, whom they always mention without fail.
- V. In the sixth century every commentator wrote his commentary from the particular stand-point in which he specialised. A grammarian, for example, wrote his commentary from a grammatical point of view, while a philosophical writer or a Sūfī took another view. Hence various sorts of commentaries were composed during this period. Among these commentators the great Rāshidī occupies a high place. His commentary, entitled *Al-Kashshaf*, is a scholarly work, composed from a grammatical and rhetorical stand-point, and is the foundation of the later commentaries as far as this aspect is concerned. Many super-commentaries have been written on this work.
- VI. The commentators of subsequent centuries, who largely based their commentaries on the previous works of the

(39) Jurji Zaydan's *History of Arabic Literature*, II, 251.

(40) Sam ānī, *Ansab*, 314^a.

comprehensiveness, while the former is a good comprehensive commentary. The importance and value of this commentary may be judged from the fact that so many super-commentaries and glosses have been written on it by scholars of the succeeding ages, that no other Qur'ānic commentary enjoys such a celebrity. We shall see later on that several Indian scholars have composed super-commentaries and glosses on it.

CHAPTER II

COMMENTARIES ON THE QUR'ĀN.

Commentaries on the Qur'ān occupy the first and most important place in Islamic literature, and a large number of Muslim scholars have always regarded it as their pious duty to write exegesis on their holy scripture. The commentators may be arranged chronologically in the following way:-

- I. The Prophet, those Companions of his and those followers of theirs who verbally commented on Qur'ānic verses, but did not commit their comments to writing:
- II. Those earliest commentators who for the first time actually wrote something by way of commentary on the Qur'ān, transmitting the verbal comments of the Prophet and of his Companions.
- III. The commentators of the fourth and fifth centuries of the Muslim era, among whom the celebrated Tabari stands unrivalled and unsurpassed. Their commentaries, just like the books on Hadith, are full of the traditions and sayings, with the complete chain of the narrators.
- IV. The commentators of the later period, who have omitted the chain of the narrators, except the final authority, whom they always mention without fail.
- V. In the sixth century every commentator wrote his commentary from the particular stand-point in which he specialised. A grammarian, for example, wrote his commentary from a grammatical point of view, while a philosophical writer or a Sūfī took another view. Hence various sorts of commentaries were composed during this period. Among these commentators the great Zamksharī occupies a high place. His commentary, entitled *Al-Kashshāf*, is a scholarly work, composed from a grammatical and rhetorical stand-point, and is the foundation of the later commentaries as far as this aspect is concerned. Many super-commentaries have been written on this work.
- VI. The commentators of subsequent centuries, who largely based their commentaries on the previous works of the same nature. Among these commentaries, two works, one known as *Tafsīr-i-Baydāwī* and the other as "*Jalālayn*", stand very high. The latter owes its fame to its marvelous brevity and conciseness, while the former is a good comprehensive commentary. The importance and value of this commentary may be judged from the fact that so many super-commentaries and glosses have been written on it by scholars of the succeeding ages, that no other Qur'ānic commentary enjoys such a celebrity. We shall see later on that several Indian scholars have composed super-commentaries and glosses on it.

The commentaries produced in India belong to the sixth class. Of many Indian works on the Qur'ānic sciences, fifteen deserve notice:-

I. Commentaries of a general nature	3
II. Commentaries written from various standpoints	4
III. The principles of Qur'ānic exegesis	1
IV. Commentaries purely literary and pedantic...	2
V. Glosses and Annotations on previous works...	3
VI. Concordances and Indexes	2
	TOTAL
	15

as follows:-

I. COMMENTARIES OF A GENERAL NATURE: THREE.

1) TABẒIR AL RAHMĀN WA TAYSĪR AL MAHNĀN, better known as Tafsīr i Rahmānī, by Alā' al Dīn b. Ahmad Masha'imī (d. 835 A.H.). He belonged to the tribe called Mawā'it who are said to be the descendants of those Arabs who fled for their lives from Madīnah to the Indian coast when Hajjāj b. Yūsuf sacked the city. Alī was an eminent scholar and the author of several works. He belonged to the Shāfi'i school. This work has been published in two volumes at Hyderabad.

This Commentary is in the nature of what is called Al-sharh al-mansūj, just like the Jalūlayn, but more comprehensive and of wider scope. It describes briefly all the Qur'ānic stories and the occasion of the revelation of the verses. It also points out the mutual connections of the preceding and following verses.

There are two characteristics which the author has very ably maintained throughout: one is that in the beginning of each sūrah he briefly mentions the reason why the sūrah is so named; and the other is that he invariably paraphrases Bismillah in each sūrah in accordance with the subject matter of the sūrah. For instance, Bismillah in the last sūrah is paraphrased in the following way:-

Ahmad Miyanji b. Mughis of Gujarat. He was both a Shāfi'i and a scholar. He is said to have written glosses on the Tafsīr

(I begin in the name of God who is manifest through His names, attributes and actions in regard to man.) of the

(Who is so merciful as to make him perfect after shedding the light of existence upon him)

(And who is so compassionate as to protect him from the evil of what is in him and of what has gone out of him.)

The paraphrase of Bismillah in the sūrah but one runs as follows:-

(In the name of God who is manifest through His perfections in the day-breaking light.)

(Who is so merciful as to diffuse that light)

(And who is so compassionate as to give refuge to him who seeks refuge in Him from the evils.)

The word "Allah" in Bismillah is almost invariably followed by "AL MUSTAJALLI BI KAMĀLĀTINI", which phrase is in turn followed by another, suitable for the subject matter of the sūrah. The words "al Rahmān" and "Al Rahīm" are each followed by a phrase consisting of the Harf Jar 'Bā' and its Majrūr. No other commentary has, so far as known to the present writer, followed this peculiar way of paraphrasing Bismillah.

In the Berlin Library Catalogue, two MSS, Nos. 925 and 931, are described as being by a certain "Fāḍil Hindi", while MS No. 870 is said to be the commentary by 'Alī under consideration. I have found out that all these MSS are different parts of the same work, Tafsīrī Rahmānī.

2) AL TAFSĪR AL MUHAMMADI, composed by Shaykh Muhammad b. Ahmad Miyanjī b. Naṣīr of Gujarat. He was both a sūfi and a scholar. He is said to have written glosses on the Tafsīr

Baydāwī. He died in 982 A.H. His object in writing this commentary was to point out the mutual connections of the Qur'ānic verses - which he asserts that no scholar had done before him. This commentary is not so comprehensive and valuable as Tafsīr Rahmānī, which he seems to have consulted when he wrote his own.

3) TAFSĪR NAZHARĪ, composed by qādī Thanū Allāh Pānīpatī (1225) and named after Mirza Jūnjānān, the spiritual leader of the author. The qādī was a scholar of repute. Shāh Abd al Azīz Dihlawī (1239) used to call him the Bayhaqī of India. His Mula budd (a book in Persian on the Hanafi fiqh) is well known in India. This commentary consists of seven volumes and is considered to be reliable, representing the orthodox view of the Hanafi school. Some parts of it have been lithographed in India.

II. COMMENTARIES WRITTEN FROM VARIOUS POINTS OF VIEW: FOUR.

1) SHU'ŪN AL MUHAZZALĀT by Alī Muttaqī of Burhān pur (973). A very learned man who during the latter part of his life left for Mecca and settled down there. He is the author of several books, the best known and most useful being KANZ AL UMMAL. In this commentary the author has mentioned all the reliable and accepted occasions of the revelation of the Qur'ānic verses, together with grammatical, philological and rhetorical explanations of certain words and phrases, ascribed to some authorities on the subjects concerned. It does not deal with the text verse by verse. It dwells upon those verses only about which there are some reliable explanations and causes of revelation.

2) TARJAMAT AL QUR'ĀN by Muhibb Allāh Ilahabādī (1058). He was a descendant of the great Indian Sūfi Farīd Shaker-ganj whose lineage goes back to Umar, the second Caliph. He was

both a scholar and a ṣūfī. He expounded the ideas of Ibn Arabī, so much so that in India he won the title of "the Ibn Arabī of India." He was a prolific writer and has left several works. He has written this commentary entirely from a sufistic standpoint, and chiefly from that of WAḤDĀT AL WUJŪD. Many points in his commentary are found to deviate from orthodoxy. For instance, he has, like some other thinkers, inferred from the verses X, 90 and 91 that Fir awn embraced the faith of the Banī Isrā'īl at the time of his being drowned.

3) TAFSĪR AḤMĀDĪ by Aḥmad b. Abū Sa'īd, better known as Mullā Jīwān (d. 1130). That he was a learned scholar may be seen from the fact that he was one of the teachers of Awrangzīb who had a high regard for his erudite learning. His other work is Mūr al anwār, Sharḥ al Manār, a text book on Uṣūl al fiqh.

The work under consideration is not a commentary on the whole of the Qur'ān. It deals only with those verses from which commandments and prohibitions are inferred. He states in the preface that nobody had so far attempted to collect and comment upon those verses from which AḤKĀM are deduced. In his boyhood he used to hear that Al Ghazzālī had collected five hundred verses of this sort, but when he tried to obtain this work he came to know that what he had heard was wrong. Thereupon he resolved to do this work himself, and as he himself says, commenced it when he was a boy of sixteen years, completed it when he was twenty-one years old, and revised it six years later.

In the beginning he has given a list of all those sūrahs from which AḤKĀM are derived, together with a list of the natures of these injunctions. Those sūrahs which contain no Āyat al aḥkām are enumerated as being devoid of them, (The first verse that he begins with is the twenty-seventh of the second sūrah which runs

(It is He who has created for you all that is on earth.)

From this verse he infers that lawfulness is a root principle in everything. In the last Juz' all the sūrah's from LXXVII to the last are devoid of Āyat al ahkām, except Sūrah No. 108, from which he proves the existence of the heavenly Hawd Kawthar. But it is curious that he has included the existence of Hawd Kawthar among Ahkām. It may be an article of faith, but it is not a commandment or prohibition.

4) FATH AL KHABIR by Shāh Walī Allāh Mīhlawī, who was the most celebrated traditionist and theologian of his age in India. He was born in 1114 A.H., and at the age of fifteen, when he had completed his education, on traditional lines, entered the Naqshbandi order under the leadership of his father, and two years later succeeded him in his office. In 1143 he went to Mecca and then to Medina where he made the acquaintance of the scholars and traditionists of those places and received a Sanad and a Khitqah from the eminent sūfi and muhaddith Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad b. Ibrahim at Medina. On his return to Delhi he devoted himself to literary and educational pursuits, and wrote a large number of works, dealing with Hadith and other branches of Muslim theology. His reputation as a scholar is in no way confined to India. In the history of Islamic learning in India he stands unrivalled. His greatness lies in his being a scholar well versed in all branches of Islamic literature. He was a sūfi too. Nawwāb Siddiq Hasan is right when he says that if Walī Allāh had lived in an early period, he would have been regarded as an Imām of his age. Being asked which of the four schools of Sunni fiqh he belonged to, he said:- "I try my best to combine all the points of agreement in all the schools and in matters of variance I adhere to what is proved by the genuine Hadith - which, thank God, I can do. If anybody asks me for a fatwā, I give it according to whatever

school he wishes." He died in 1176 A.H. The place of his

In the book under consideration he has collected all those Hadith which offer some comments on verses of the Qur'ān. In the Itqān of Suyūṭī there is one chapter which contains only those Hadith of this sort that have come down from Abd Allah b. Abbās through the narration of Ibn Alī Talḥah and Ḍaḥḥak. Fath al khabīr includes all those Hadith concerned which are regarded as reliable by the authorities. This book is a fifth chapter of another work by the same author, entitled "AL FAWAZ AL-KABĪR FĪ USUL AL TAFSĪR", which deals with the principles of the Qur'ānic commentary and will be discussed later on. The following is a specimen of the traditional commentary which Fath al khabīr contains:-
(Sūrah 108)
(Sūrah 112)
This commentary does not give the chain of narration, while Al-Itqān gives it invariably.

III. LITERARY AND PEDANTIC COMMENTARIES: TWO.

(1) SAWĀṬI AL ILHĀM by Abū al Fayḍ Fayḍī (1004), the poet-laureate of the court of Akbar. He was a Persian poet of repute and a scholar well versed in many branches of learning. The mastery that he had over Arabic literature is evidenced from two of his Arabic works, one is MAWĀRID AL KILAN and the other this work under consideration, in both of which the author has very skilfully maintained throughout the figure of speech called "ṣan at Muḥmalah".

It commences with a sort of introduction entitled Sawāṭi, divided into two parts, the first dealing with a short account of the author himself, and the other throwing some light on the Qur'ānic sciences etc. Each part is subdivided into what is named Sāṭi. All these "flashes" are of different lengths, varying from one line to thirty lines or so.

The account of the author describes the place of his birth and how he entered the royal service of the king to whose eulogy he devotes two "flashes". He has written the longest "flash" in the praise of his father. At the end of his introduction he has appended a poem in appreciation of his own work.

He has mentioned the names of his father and his brothers in an enigmatical way in order to avoid the dotted letters which they contain. These riddles are very difficult and far-fetched. A man who does not already know those names, can hardly solve them. Even with previous knowledge of the names, it is very difficult to work them out.

Out of nine riddles, six are "mu amma" and the remaining three are "lughaz". The difference between the two terms is that for the former only one answer is correct, while in the case of the latter more than one solution is possible. The author has used the latter device for three names, Abū-'l-Faḍl, Abū 'l-Fayḍ Fayḍī (i.e. himself) and Abū 'l-Khayr and has described the significance of these names in words containing undotted letters. These descriptions are not limited in their reference and can be applied to other words of similar meaning also. But this is not the case with the remaining six, for they can only apply to the names concerned and cannot admit of more than one correct answer. I have been able to solve these six mu ammas, which are given below with the solutions of them.

1. The name "MUBĀRAK" contains five letters which are obtained respectively by

(the base, i.e. the last letter of ilm)

(the root, i.e. the last letter of qalb which is a synonym of)

(the rising place, i.e. the first

letter of ilhām)

(The head, i.e. the first letter

of Ru-ūs) and

(the leader, i.e. the first letter

of Kirām)

2. For Abū Barakāt he says the names of his relatives in this novel manner, has selected words that signify some. The word wālid is given as a synonym of "Abū". First, Next comes the word ~~the letters in~~ is got from just as in the previous mu ammā is obtained by the phrase ~~the names of Abū~~ (that is, the word ~~Abū~~ is to be reversed) and the last letter ~~is obtained from~~ in order (that is by doubling the value of the last letter of Dahr, which is ~~first is~~ the value of which is 200; and 400 the numerical value of ~~of the name~~). From the middle letters,
3. The mu ammā for Abū 'l Makārim is not difficult.

that is to say, it is a

Raydī was commonly considered to be a heretic as regards a synonym of "wālid" followed by

4. The letters of the name "Abū Turāb" are obtained from anything against the orthodox view in the introduction or in the first letters of the commentary itself. If we, for instance, take the following four points on which a heretic or freethinker may differ by the first letter of ~~the orthodox~~, which is a synonym of ~~the orthodox~~; and the dotted ~~the orthodox~~ is got by doubling the value of the first letter of ~~the orthodox~~.
5. The letters of ~~and supernatural~~ are obtained by the birth of Christ without a father, the story of "The People of Cave", and that of "The People of the Elephant", etc.;
6. The letters of ~~III. God leads to the straight path whomsoever He likes, and lets go astray whomsoever He likes, etc.;~~ are obtained by the last letters of

IV. The only true religion is Islam;

In the construction of these mu ammās the following points are noticeable:

1. The letters of the names are expressed by saying that they are the first, middle, or last letters of some particular word. In the case of undotted letters, there is no difficulty, because they occur in the new word presented; but in the case of dotted letters, the author either gives a synonym of the word from which a particular letter has to be taken or hints at the numerical value of a letter; for example, ~~obscurity~~ is obtained by doubling the value of

well-known Tafsīr al Jalālayn which has no such alphabetical

2. The author in expressing the names of his relatives in this novel manner, has selected words that signify some excellence or virtue; and the indication of the first, middle or last letters of words is given in various ways which themselves point to laudable characteristics.

3. The names of Abū Turāb, Abū Hāmid and Abū Rashid, the sons of the step-mother of the author, are arranged in order according to their age, for it should be noted that the name of the first is to be taken from the first letters of the given words; that of the middle, from the middle letters, and the name of the last, from the last letters.

Baydī was commonly considered to be a heretic as regards his religious faith, but curiously enough he has never said anything against the orthodox view in the introduction or in the commentary itself. If we, for instance, take the following four points on which a heretic or freethinker may differ from the orthodox -

- I. The Qur'ān is the last book of revelation and Muhammad the last Prophet;
- II. Miracles and supernatural things such as the birth of Christ without a father, the story of "The People of the Cave", and that of "The People of the Elephant", etc.;
- III. God leads to the straight path whomsoever He likes, and lets go astray whomsoever He likes, etc.;
- IV. The only true religion is Islam;

— we find that he interprets all these points entirely from the orthodox standpoint.

This commentary, apart from the literary skill, has no value, as the self-imposed restriction has made the brief comments that he offers more difficult than the text itself. His chief point is to avoid the dotted letters while commenting on the Qur'ān and so he is unnecessarily lengthy wherever ideas could have been expressed concisely, otherwise he is brief to obscurity. It may be compared in brevity with the well-known Tafsir Al Jalalayn which has no such alphabetical

restrictions and so offers its brief comments in the easiest possible words, while Sawāṭi al Ilham has to use bombastic and unusual words.

The learned Indian critic Shibli, whom the late Professor Browne has quoted in his history of Persian Literature, remarks that this commentary shows only the wonderful mastery that the author had over Arabic literature, otherwise it is worth nothing. (1) Mawlawi Abd al Haqq, whose introduction to his Urdu commentary on the Qur'ān has been translated into English, is of the same opinion. (2)

As regards Arabic and Persian literature, it should be noted that the characteristics of an Indian mind are apt to express themselves in an artificial, flowery, bombastic and ornate style. To take Persian first, we find that Amir Khusraw, the greatest poet of India, wrote in a very artificial style, as exemplified by Mathnawi, Qiran al sa dayn and his prose work, I jaz-i-Khusrawi. Among the poets of the later period, Mulla Zahuri, Tughrā, Abd al Qadir Bedil, etc., are notorious for the same failing. The great poet of Persia, Urfī, who lived in India during the latter part of his life, could not avoid this influence. The same is the case with Sā'ib. Both of them are much admired in India and Turkey, but are disliked in their own country. Their fellow countrymen say that they were poetical geniuses but that their poetry was spoilt by their stay in India. (3)

Arabic could not enjoy the same amount of popularity in India that Persian did. Yet Arabic could not remain unaffected by this tendency of the Indian mind. Among all the rhetorical devices, the figure of speech called *ṣan'at Muḥmala*, has fascinated the Indian Muslims very much on

(1) Shibli, *Shi'ra al-ajam* (ed. Azamgarh) III, 67.

(2) Abd al-Haqq Haqqani's Introduction to his Commentary on the Qur'ān (English Translation), p. 576.

(3) Muhammad Husayn Azad, *Sukhandan-i-Fars*, "Characteristics of Indian Persian."

account of its very difficult nature. We find that even in Arabic some attempts have been made in this direction. One of them is this Sawāṭi al Ilham. Another is Mawarid al Kilam by the same author. Then there is another commentary on the sūrah Yūsuf. Muhammad Ṣiddiq of Lahore is said to have written a biography of the Prophet with the same restriction.

By writing Sawāṭi, Fayḍi has contributed to Arabic literature a work entirely artificial in its nature according to the characteristic of an Indian mind. I know of no book outside India which has ever been written with such successful maintenance of this rhetorical device throughout.

(2) JUBB-SHAGHAB, also named FAYḌ GHAYB. The author is Abd al Ahad b. Imām All of Allahabād who is a very modern writer. This work is mentioned here to show further the peculiarity of an Indian taste.

Jubb-Shaghab is a commentary on the last juz' of the Qur'ān. In this commentary the author has avoided undotted letters, that is to say he has maintained the figure of speech called ḥan at Manqutah which is just the opposite of the rhetoric contrivance maintained by Fayḍi in his Sawāṭi.

The following passage relating to the first sūrah will show its style:-

All praise is due to God (Who is praised by way of being praised)

The lord of all the worlds (who gives nourishment)

Merciful and compassionate (Who sends abundant favours)

The master of the day of judgment (Who punishes the sinful and rewards the pious)

These we worship. (Keep my motive firm)

The very title is a difficult phrase. Its meaning
And of Thee we beg help. (Thou redressest me) dictionaries.

"Jubb" means a "wall". But what is the meaning of the other

Lead us to the straight path (in the misguidance of sin.
Give me salvation).

then being "deviating from the way". So the whole phrase

means "to wall out of the way". As this "wall" i.e. the
The path of those whom Thou hast rewarded (with whom Thou
hast been pleased) of the way, i.e. not in the usual style.

It is named "JUBB-SHAUGHAB".

Not of those with whom Thou art angry (upon whom Thou hast
thrown Thy wrath)

IV. ON THE PRINCIPLES OF JUBB-SHAUGHAB. ONE BOOK.

Nor of those who go astray (i.e. the exclusion of the sinful.
Take me in fresh comfort.)

Shilawi, whom we have mentioned above. It is divided into

five. As this style is entirely artificial and as it is very
difficult to express ideas in words having no undotted letters,
the explanation it offers is much more meagre and obscure
than that offered by Sawāti. The object of the author is
not to write a commentary but to make a display of his know-
ledge of the Arabic language, which he has, to his credit,
done and perhaps successfully. To maintain *San* at Manqutah
is much more difficult than to maintain the opposite *San* at,
and hence this commentary is a greater credit to the author
of Jubb-Shaghab than the Sawāti is to Fayḍi. The latter
is a commentary on the whole of the Qur'ān while the former
relates to the last juz. only, but this fact does not throw
any slur on the abilities of the author, as he has not made
any selection of sūrahs to suit his purpose. If he had done
so, it would have been concluded that he could not have
maintained the style throughout. Perhaps he could not find
time, or he perhaps soon realized the folly of wasting his
intellectual activities. At the end he has given a poem
of thirty couplets, maintaining therein the same restriction,
which fact throws sufficient light on the command that he
had over Arabic literature. Jubb-Shaghab is a chronogram-
matical name which gives the year 1307 as the date of its
composition.

The very title is a difficult phrase. Its meanings can hardly be understood without reference to dictionaries. "Jubb" means a "well". But what is the meaning of the other word, "Shaghab"! This word has several meanings, one of them being "deviating from the way". So the whole phrase means "A Well out of the way". As this "Well", i.e. the Commentary, is "out of the way, i.e. not in the usual style, it is named "JUBB-SHAGHAB".

Generally commentators are inclined to believe that

IV. ON THE PRINCIPLES OF QUR'ĀNIC EXEGESIS: ONE BOOK.

This work is **AL FAWZ AL KABĪR**, by Shāh Wali Allah Dihlawī, whom we have mentioned above. It is divided into five chapters, the last of which is a separate book with the title of **Fath al khabīr**, which has already been discussed. The value of this book lies in its masterly exposition of the principles of qur'ānic exegesis.

The author divides the subject matter of the qur'ān into five, to wit:-

1. **Al aḥkām** (Commands);
2. **Mukhāṣamah** (Contentions);
3. **Al tadhkīr bi Allah** (Admonitions with reference to divine blessings and gifts);
4. **Al tadhkīr bi ayyām Allah** (Admonitions with reference to the days of God, i.e. past events)
5. **Al tadhkīr bi al mawt wa ba d al mawt** (Admonitions with reference to death and the life to come).

The qur'ān contends with four classes of people, namely, polytheists, hypocrites, Jews and Christians. After classing the subject matter of the qur'ān and the people with whom it contends, the first principle that the author lays down for the guidance of a commentator is that he should not lose sight of this fact that the qur'ān, in dealing with all the matters mentioned above strictly follows the style of the speech of the ancient Arabs and not of the later

writers, who were experts in writing systematised and well-arranged text books.

The next point that he tries to bring home to his reader is the realisation that the object of the Qur'ānic passages containing Al-tadhkir bi Allah etc. is to purify human beings and not to give them philosophical or historical lectures. The Qur'ān has mentioned only those facts which are self-evident and those stories which are well known.

Generally commentators are inclined to believe that there is some occasion or other of the revelation of all the Qur'ānic verses, and they try to explain the verses in the light of the stories which caused their revelation. Walli Allah is opposed to this general belief. He says that since the object of the revelation of the Qur'ān is to purify and elevate humanity and to correct wrong beliefs and evil doings, the very existence of the former (wrong belief) is the cause of the revelation of the contending verses and that of the latter (evil doings) is the cause of the revelation of the verses containing commands and prohibitions.

In the second chapter he says that the Qur'ān was revealed in plain and simple Arabic, easily and thoroughly understood by those Arabs who heard or read it. Since thinking over the Āyāt Mushābah was discouraged by the Prophet, they did not ask him for the philosophical explanation of those verses. When non-Arabs embraced Islam, difficulties of the following kinds arose:-

1. Obscurity of certain words;
2. Want of knowledge as regards the cancelling and cancelled verses;
3. Want of knowledge as regards the cause of the revelation of some verses;
4. Grammatical and rhetorical difficulties.

As regards the obscure words occurring in the Qur'ān, he says that the meanings of such words have come down to us on the authority of Abd Allah b. Abbās through many trans-

mitters, which meanings he has collected in a separate book entitled *Path al Khabir*, which may be taken as a fifth chapter to the present work of his.

As to the cancelled verses, he points out that the early writers used the word "NAKḤ" in a very broad sense, with the result that the number of such verses was to them not less than five hundred. Suyūṭī, on the authority of Ibn al Arabī, has reduced the number to twenty, which Shāh Wali Allah brings down further to five only.

As regards the occasions of the revelation of the verses, he asserts that there is again a variance of interpretation concerning the term *Sabab al nazūl*. Every event to which a certain verse might be applicable and which occurred in the time of the Prophet, has been rather carelessly mentioned as the occasion of the revelation of that verse. "*Maṣalat al ṣyah fi haḍḥa*", the common expression of the early writers, says he, does not therefore necessarily mean that that event was the cause of the revelation of the verse.

As to the grammatical and rhetorical difficulties, he has given a long list explaining therein all such difficulties.

In the third chapter he has explained the peculiarities of the qur'ānic style. His main point is that the text is not systematically arranged like a regular book. He compares the *sūrahs* to the orders and mandates which a ruler issues to his subjects from time to time, as required by the situation. He has skilfully worked out this comparison in some details - which is almost a new idea.

In the fourth chapter he gives a general criticism of all the existing qur'ānic commentaries. His main point is that different commentators have taken a fancy to write commentaries from the different standpoints of their own interests. A grammarian, for example, has written his commentary from a grammatical point of view, while a philosophical writer has based his work on scholastic arguments.

This tendency, he says, has done great harm to the understanding of the real spirit of the Qur'ān, just as the ilm al-tajwīd (the science of recitation) has diverted the attention of the readers of the Qur'ān from thinking over the actual significance of the verses towards the way in which it should be properly recited.

V. GLOSSES AND ANNOTATIONS ON THE PREVIOUS COMMENTARIES:

THREE BOOKS.

1) The importance of Tafsir al Bayḍāwī has already been referred to. The most widely read of all the glosses, written by Indians on this commentary, are those composed by Abd al Ḥakīm al Siyālkūtī (1067 A.H.), who was an accomplished and eminent scholar attached to the court of Shah Jāhān. His reputation as a learned commentator and writer of glosses spread during his life time so far as to reach Hajjī Khalifah, living at so distant a place as Constantinople, who has mentioned some of his works in his bibliography. They were contemporaries of one another. As the most important part of the Bayḍāwī is that relating to the first two sūrah, Abd al Ḥakīm has written his glosses on this portion only, but did not finish the work. It runs up to the three-quarters of the second juz'. His glosses are very illuminating. The author of the Khulasat al athar speaks of him and his works very highly. Of his Hāshiyah on Bayḍāwī, he says

Characteristics of his Hāshiya:

1. He offers philological and grammatical explanatory notes on difficult words and phrases in Bayḍāwī;
2. He explains obscure passages;
3. He examines the hadith mentioned by Bayḍāwī and mentions the sources of them if omitted by Bayḍāwī and gives the

(1) Khalifah, IV, 225; VI, 241; VII, 798, and , 914.

(2) Muhibbi, II, 318.

full text of those hadith to which the original commentator has only referred summarily.

4. Another important characteristic of these glosses is that Siyālkūtī, being a Ḥanafī, defends all the arguments of his school against Baydāwī who is a Shāfiʿī.

2) Al kamālayn, Hashiyat al Jalālayn, by Salām Allāh (1229).

He was a descendant of Abd al Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī, the well known muhaddith of Delhi. He himself was a muhaddith and the author of several works. His glosses on Jalālayn are as brief as the text itself and are much appreciated in India.

3) Hilālayn hashiyat al Jalālayn, by Turab Alī (1281).

who was the author of many books. His glosses are not mere ḥāshiyah. They are in the nature of Shakh mamzūj and so more comprehensive and more copious than the Kamalayn, with this difference, that the latter deals with the whole of the Qurʾān while the Hilalayn is confined to the last juzʾ. Had it been completed, it would have been of far greater use.

Being a country where Arabic was never spoken, India has naturally produced much literature by way of Ḥawāshī and shurūḥ to enable her children to understand thoroughly the standard Arabic text books. That marginal notes and glosses written in India are very useful and of great help may be judged from the fact that Professor Margoliouth, in his preface to his *Chrestomathia Baidiwiāna*, while describing the glosses of the Lucknow edition among the three glosses which he used for his work, remarks that "were the lithography of this edition somewhat clearer, it would be most useful for the student." This observation, though about one particular ḥāshiyah, may be safely applied to most of the glosses and annotations produced in India.

VI. CONCORDANCES AND INDEXES TO THE QURʾĀN: TWO WORKS.

The present western elaborate form of index is very modern. But an index, in the wide sense in which a list of the

contents of a book is also an index, has existed from ancient times. But an index to words is not very old. In the Islamic literature an index to words has been known since the Muslim scholars turned their attention to what is called 'ilm aṭraf al ḥadīth (the science of the beginnings and endings of ḥadīth). The Aṭraf al Ṣaḥīḥayn by Ibn Abid al Dīnasharī (400) is probably the first work written in the nature of an index by a Muslim writer.

India has produced not less than two books as an index to the Qur'ān:-

(1) Hādiyah Qutb Shāhi composed by Muḥammad Alī Karbalā'ī who dedicated it to Sulṭān Abd Allāh qutb Shāh (1038-1083). This index is divided into two parts; in the first the verses are arranged according to their initial, and in the second according to their final letters. In both parts references are given to the juz' and hizb as well as to the sūrah.

Mr. Storey has mentioned it as a Persian work in his bibliography of Persian literature (see No. 34), but it may be taken as a contribution to Arabic literature also, for the book is an index containing the Qur'ānic words and nothing else.

(2) The most important work of this nature is the Hujūm al-Furqān by Muṣṭafā b. Muḥammad Sa'īd who dedicated it to Awrangzīb. It is an index, not to the beginnings and endings of the verses, but to each and every word in the Qur'ān.

Mr. Storey has also mentioned it as a Persian work but it may be taken as an Arabic work for the same reason as that given in the case of the Hādiyahi Qutb Shāhi, and also because the preface has been rendered into Arabic. The Madras edition of 1292 contains the Arabic version of the Persian introduction also. This index is almost as modern in its design and arrangement as another work of the same nature, and also of the same name, by Flügel.

Both the MUJUMS Compared:

Flügel has first arranged the words according to their roots, and then under one root has given all its various forms. Muṣṭafā has simply followed the natural arrangement of the words according to the letters they contain, irrespective of root or anything of that sort, and so Muṣṭafā's index is much more convenient in this respect than Flügel's, in which one cannot find the required word unless one knows the root of it. For philological purposes, Flügel's index is much more helpful than the other one. If both the arrangements are joined, there will be nothing to be desired or improved.

The other point of contrast is that Flügel has adopted the numbers of sūrahs and verses, whilst Muṣṭafā refers to juz' and rukū instead, the former being indicated in numerals and the latter being shown in Hurūf Abjad, which system is very defective and inconvenient. In short, Muṣṭafā's Mujum was the best Qur'ānic index up to the time when Flügel composed his work, which, as fairness demands, should not be compared with the previous work, in view of the wonderful facilities of modern times.

Up to the time when the traditions were collected in various works, it was in Arabic that all the concisions and other works on Ḥadīth were compiled. As far as I know, only two out of thousands of these narrators were directly or indirectly connected with India. One is Abū Ḥafṣa b. Ḥabīb who was a Tanjāwī and a reliable narrator. He went to Meccah and died there in 160 A.H. According to one authority, he is said to have been the first Muslim who wrote a book. His work does not exist and the nature of it is not known. Possibly it was on Ḥadīth. The other is Abū Isḥāq, who was the client of Umar Miṣr. He was also a narrator. Saḥābī has mentioned him under the heading Sindhī in his book Al-maṣbūṭ. Besides these there might have been a few more among the early

Muslim Arabs who went to Sind when it was invaded and conquered by the Muslim forces, but nothing is definitely known about them.

CHAPTER III.

HADĪTH LITERATURE IN INDIA.

Anyhow, in India many Arabic books relating to Hadīth

By the fifth century of the Hijra, the great collections of Hadīth literature dealing with the sayings and doings of the Prophet and of his Companions, had been completed. But on the basis of this material there was built up a separate department of study, with numerous branches - the Science of Hadīth - and this has attracted the attention of the Muslim scholars of succeeding generations up to modern times, and the vast literature on Hadīth now forms a very important and considerable part of Islamic learning. What we are concerned with here is the contribution of India to this branch of Arabic literature. Considering her special disadvantages and geographical obstacles, it may be said that she has acquitted herself well.

One great disadvantage that India has had with regard to the collection of Hadīth is that being very distant from the country where the Prophet was born, lived, and died, there were no Indians among the narrators and guarantors of Hadīth up to the time when the traditions were collected in various works. It was in Arabia that all the canonical and other works on Hadīth were compiled. As far as I know, only two out of thousands of these narrators were directly or indirectly connected with India. One is Abū Hāfiṣ b. Rabī' who was a Tan'tābi'īn and a reliable narrator. He went to Sind and died there in 160 A.H. According to one authority, he is said to have been the first Muslim who wrote a book. This work does not exist and the nature of it is not known. Possibly it was on Hadīth. The other is Abū Ma'shar, who was the client of Umm Mūsā. He was also a narrator. Sam'anī has mentioned him under the heading Sindī in his book Al-Ansāb. Besides them there might have been a few more among the early

writers in Arabic commentary also, but as he wrote in Arabic

Muslim Arabs who went to Hind when it was invaded and conquered by the Muslim forces, but nothing is definitely known about them. valuable. It gives philological explanations.

Anyhow, in India many Arabic books relating to Hadīth literature have been written, of which twenty-two are worthy of notice. They may be classed in the following way:-

I.	Commentaries on canonical and other books ...	6
II.	Re-arrangements of previous collections ...	3
III.	A Dictionary of <u>Hadīth</u> literature ...	1
IV.	Arba'ūn (a collection of 40 <u>Hadīth</u>) ...	1
V.	New Collections made upon a novel principle ...	2
VI.	Collections of <u>Hadīth</u> relating to some particular topic or problem (i.e. applied <u>Hadīth</u>) ...	3
VII.	Interpretation of the Secrets (i.e. the spirit) of <u>Hadīth</u> ...	1
VIII.	Science of the Principles of <u>Hadīth</u> ...	1
IX.	Biographies of the Guarantors ...	2
X.	Forged <u>Hadīth</u> ...	2
	Total	22

I. COMMENTARIES ON THE PREVIOUS WORKS: SIX BOOKS.

Though most of all the canonical and other works have been commented upon in India, here only six books, more valuable than the rest, are mentioned.

(1) LAM'AT AL TANQIH 'ALĀ MISHKĀT AL MASABĪH, by 'Abd al Haqq Dihlawī (1052). He is one of the best known of Indian scholars. He was born in 958 A.H.; and visited the Hijaz in 996. He was an eminent Muhaddith of his age and is rightly honoured as having considerably promoted the studies of Hadīth in India. He is the author of several works. He states in his preface that when he was writing his commentary in Persian on the Mishkāt, he came across certain learned discussions and subtle points that did not deserve exposition in the Persian language. So he resolved to write an Arabic commentary also, but as he wrote in Arabic

by preference, the Persian commentary remained unfinished and the other was completed. This commentary is very copious and valuable. It gives philological explanations, grammatical subtleties, problems of Fiqh, various chains of one and the same Hadīth, the principles of inference, the correct pronounciation of the names and titles of the narrators, etc.. The chief aim of the author is to defend the system of the Hanifi school by means of Hadīth - in doing which he has succeeded, so much so that, as he himself has remarked, Imām Shāfi'i seems to be one of Aṣḥāb al Rā'i and Abū Hanīfah, one of Aṣḥāb al Zawahir. The introduction is interesting and forms a separate treatise by itself, in which the author has explained all the kinds of Hadīth. He says that any single Hadīth may be regarded from different standpoints. With regard to the subject matter it is either a saying or an action; if it is the latter, then it is either Marfū' when it is traced back to the Prophet or Mawqūf when it goes back to a companion only, or a Maqtū' when it does not go beyond a companion of a companion. From the standpoint of genuineness a Hadīth is either ṣaḥīḥ, ḥasan or ḍa'īf. It is Mutawātir if it has been narrated by a large number of guarantors in each generation, otherwise Uḥad which are, in their turn, either Mashhūr, 'Azīz or Qharīb. The value of this introduction may be seen in this fact that almost all the Indian editions of the Mishkāt have incorporated it as an introduction.

(2) A commentary on the ṣaḥīḥ al Bukhārī by Abū al Ḥasan Sindi. He was born in Thattah, a village in the Sind province. After completing his education in India he went to Madinah and settled there for the rest of his life, gaining there a considerable reputation as a learned scholar and commentator. He wrote glosses on all the six standard books of Hadīth, and composed other works also. Murādī has spoken of him and his works highly in his Silk al Furar. He died in 1138

A.H. The work under consideration has been mentioned by Hājji Khalīfah. It gives useful explanatory notes on difficult words and phrases in the text. It also explains the headings of the chapters in the Bukhārī.

(3) AL MUSAWWĀ, a commentary on the well-known Muwattā of Imām Mālik, composed by Shāh Walī Allah of Dihlawī, whom we have met in the preceding chapter. In this work each Hadīth is followed by a learned criticism and explanation dealing with different interpretations given by different scholars. The learned commentator has also arranged all the Hadīth of the Muwattā in a form convenient for reference and has mentioned both Shāfi'ī and Hanafī Madhabs in each chapter. He has also given Qur'ānic verses in support of the injunctions derived from the Hadīth of the Muwattā. Shāh Walī Allah also wrote a commentary on the same work in Persian, but it is not so copious as the Arabic one.

(4) SHARH TRĀJIM ABWĀB AL BUKHĀRĪ, by the same author. This small book contains illuminating annotations on the headings of the chapters in the ṣaḥīḥ of Bukhārī. The material of the book is not original, but hitherto it had remained scattered in various voluminous commentaries. The merit of the work lies in the fact that reliable and useful notes selected out of the vast and scattered materials have been collected in a brief form in one book. The author has also mentioned some of the principles underlying the headings of Bukhārī; some of them may be given here to show their nature.

I. Sometimes Bukhārī puts as a heading a Hadīth Marfū', though it does not comply with his rules for deciding the trustworthiness of the narrators, and then in support of this Hadīth, he mentions another which conforms to his own standard of reliability.

II. Sometimes he gives as a heading a certain problem which is inferred from a Maṣṣ.

III. Sometimes he puts as a heading the Madhhab of previous

scholars and then he narrates those Ḥadīth which justify this Maḏhab. Sometimes the inference is not positive and so he will put as a heading the phrase "Bāb Man qāl Kaḏhā".

IV. Sometimes he puts a controversial problem as a heading and then narrates all the conflicting Ḥadīth to enable the Faqīh to decide in any way that he likes.

V. Sometimes he narrates many Ḥadīth, each connected with the heading under which it is put. Then he mentions another Ḥadīth, the subject matter of which is supplementary to what is inferred from the heading. He begins such Ḥadīth with the word "Bāb", which does not mean an altogether new chapter. It merely stands for such a word as "Tanbīh" or "Fā'idah", used in the works of the authors of the later periods.

VI. Sometimes he uses the term "Bāb" in place of the QAWL AL MUḤADDITHĪN (the verdict of traditionists).

VII. Sometimes he mentions as a heading the Maḏhab of "BA'P AL NĀS" (some people) or a Ḥadīth which is not reliable to him, and then he narrates a genuine Ḥadīth from which he infers against the Maḏhab or the Ḥadīth quoted as the heading.

(5) Another commentary on the MUWAṬṬĀ, compiled by Salām Al-lāh (1129) who has been mentioned in the preceding chapter. This work begins with an introduction in which the author deals with the technicalities of Ḥadīth and gives a biographical account of the Imām Mālik and a critical note on the Muwaṭṭā. The reason for compiling this commentary, he himself states to be that as Zarqanī's commentary was not current in India, and as no Indian commentary existed, he felt the necessity of writing an exhaustive commentary on the Muwaṭṭā. It is rather curious that the author of the commentary under consideration (which is entitled Al Muḥallā) makes no mention of Shāh Wallī Allāh's Musawwā which had been composed about thirty years before. Perhaps he had not seen it. The reason given by the author is a common one. Zarqanī has put forward the same excuse in the beginning of his well-

known commentary.

Al Muḥallā is a copious commentary. In addition to different words and phrases, the author discusses problems of Fiqh as well. Shāh Walī Allāh's Muṣawwā is much less copious but is better arranged.

(6) AL MAWĀHIB AL LATĪFĀH, a commentary on the Muṣnad of Abū Hanīfah, composed by Muḥammad 'Abid Bīndī. The author was born in a town of Bīnd. He completed his education at Zabīd and then went to ḡan'ā' where the minister gave him his daughter in marriage. He afterwards went to Egypt as the ambassador of the Amir and then, after some time, he returned to his native place in Bīnd with the intention of settling there. But zeal for learning induced him to go to Madīnah again, where he was appointed Ra'īs al 'Ulamā of the city. He died in 1257 A.H. He wrote several books, one of which is the present work. This is not the first book of its kind. Glosses and commentaries on Abū Hanīfah's Muṣnad had been composed by several authors, among which 'Alī ḡarī's is well known. Muḥammad 'Abid's commentary is based on the previous works, together with his own method of commenting. He has, for instance, mentioned all other Ḥadīth which support the Ḥadīth contained in this Muṣnad. He criticises all controversies on Fiqh in favour of the Ḥanafī school to which he himself belonged.

II. RE-ARRANGEMENT OF THE PREVIOUS WORKS: THREE WORKS.

(1) MASHĀRIQ AL ANWĀR AL-HABAWIYYAH MIN ṢIḤĀH AL AḤIBĀR AL MUSTAFAWIYYAH, by Ḥasan b. Ḥasr Ṣaḡḡanī Lahorī. One of his forefathers migrated from Ṣaḡḡan to Lahore, where he was born in 570 A.H. He received his education from his learned father. In 615 he went to Baghḡad. Two years later the Abbāsīd Caliph sent him as an ambassador to the court of Altamash at Delhi where he stayed for about seven years and went back to Baghḡad in 624. He was again sent to India on the same

mission and returned to Baghdad in 637. He died in 650. He was an eminent Muhaddith and a philologist of repute. This work of his on Hadith and the 'Uṣṣab (a dictionary of the Arabic language) are regarded as works of high merit. He also wrote several other books.

In the present work he has re-arranged those Hadith which are in either or both of the Ṣaḥīḥ in an interesting manner according to their initial words, classified systematically. The book is divided into twelve Bābs, each Bāb being further divided into several Faṣls. A few headings may be mentioned to show the nature of the arrangement:-

Bāb I. Those Hadith which begin with relative and interrogative pronouns "MAN"

II. Hadith beginning with the article "INNA" subdivided into ten Faṣls according to various pronouns to which this article is prefixed, e.g.

III. Hadith beginning with the negative article "LA"

IV. Hadith beginning with the articles "INNA" and "IDH"

Upon this work more than one commentary has been written.

(2) KANZ AL 'UDMĀL, by 'Alī Nuttaqī of Burhanpur (975). He was born at Burhanpur in 885 A.H. After completing his education and being admitted to the Chishti Order, he went to the Hijaz where he settled for good. He died in 975. He is the author of many works, the number of which is said to have exceeded a hundred. The celebrated Suyuti collected all the Hadith of the Prophet, contained in the canonical and other collections of Hadith in one book entitled JĀM' AL-JAWĀMI', the sayings being arranged according to the initial words of Hadith and the doings according to the names of the

narrators. Of this huge work he later on made an abridgment under the title of Jāmi' al ḡaghīr in which he included only those sayings (not doings) which were short and unrepeatd.

'Alī Muttaqī rearranged all the Ḥadīth contained in the Jāmi' al Jawāmi' under different titles in accordance with the arrangement in works of Fiqh. First he arranged the Ḥadīth of the Jāmi' al ḡaghīr under the title of "Manhaj al 'Ummāl fī Sunan Al Aqwāl", and then he arranged the rest of the Ḥadīth qawli contained in the Jāmi' al Jawāmi' giving it the name of "Ikmāl Manhaj Al 'Ummāl". Afterwards he put both collections in one book under the title of Ḡhayāt Al 'Ummāl. Later on he arranged the Ḥadīth Fi'lī (the doings of the Prophet) contained in the Jāmi' al Jawāmi' and named it "Mustadrak Al Aqwāl". Finally he combined all these three works under the title of "Kanz Al 'Ummāl", that is to say, the Kanz consists of the Ḡhayāt Al 'Ummāl and the Mustadrak Al Aqwāl, the former in turn consisting of the Manhaj and Ikmāl.

The arrangement of the Kanz is this that the whole book is divided into sections, called books and arranged alphabetically. First he gives the Ḡhayāt under the heading "book", with various chapters, and then he gives the Mustadrak (i.e. Ḥadīth Fi'lī). In the Ḡhayāt, the Manhaj is followed by the Ikmāl after each chapter and not after each "book". This work has been published at Haydarabad in eight volumes with a very convenient list of the contents. All the Ḥadīth are numbered. This work contains forty six thousand one hundred and eighty Ḥadīth. The value of this work as a useful book of reference to Ḥadīth cannot be too much emphasised. Abū al Hasan al Bakri, the teacher of the author, used to say "Suyūṭī obliged the world by composing his Jāmi' al Jawāmi', whilst 'Alī Muttaqī has obliged him by re-arranging the same."

(3) The MUSHNAD of Imām A'ḡam, to which a reference has been made above. This Mushnad was arranged according to the headings in treatises on Fiqh by Muḥammad 'Abīd of Sind, who has been

already mentioned as the author of a commentary on this very work. Not less than fifteen Mūsnads have come down from Abū Ḥanīfah, of which the versions of Al-Ḥārithī and Ibn Khawṣar are well known. Muḥammad 'Abd has arranged those Ḥadīth which have come down from the Imām A'zam through Saḍr al Dīn Mūsā al Khafṣakī (d. 650).

III. DICTIONARY OF ḤADĪTH : ONE BOOK.

It is MAJMA' BIḤAR AL ANWĀR, composed by Muḥammad b. Ṭahir of Pattan. He was born at Nahrwalah (now called Pattan) in Gujarat in 914 A.H.. Having completed his education in India, he went to the Hijāz at the age of thirty, where he carried on his higher studies with the scholars of the place and became a disciple of 'Alī Muttaqī. Afterwards he returned to his own country where he zealously took up the cause of introducing religious reform among his countrymen who were Ismā'īlites. For some time he was successful in his mission, but afterwards was killed by them. This work which the author dedicated to his spiritual leader, 'Alī Muttaqī, is a voluminous work consisting of 1668 pages of long size closely lithographed. It is almost an exhaustive dictionary of both Ḥadīth and the Qur'ān. Words are arranged according to the order of the letters of their root. He invariably gives all those derivatives of one root which have been used in Ḥadīth together with the text of the Ḥadīth in which they occur. He not only gives the meanings of the words but also explains many doubtful points in Ḥadīth concerned. This work has almost eclipsed all the previous works of its kind.

IV. ARBA'ŪN : ONE BOOK.

In compliance with a Ḥadīth "He who preserves for my followers forty Ḥadīth relating to their religion, will be resuscitated by God among theologians and I will intercede

for him on the day of judgment" a large number of Arba'ūn have been compiled outside India. Of the few produced in India, one by Shāh 'Walī Allāh deserves notice. The peculiarity of this selection is that all the Ḥadīth contained in this book are reliable traditions that have come down by a regular chain of narrators from the Prophet, right down to the learned compiler, through his teacher Abū Ṭahīr Madanī, who relates them in his own turn from his father, and so on, which chain is completely mentioned in this work.

V. NEW COLLECTIONS MADE UPON A NOVEL PRINCIPLE: TWO WORKS.

(1) AL DURR AL THAMĪN FĪ MUBASHSHARĀT AL-NAHĪ AL AMĪN by Shāh Walī Allāh. It is also a collection of forty Ḥadīth; but received in dream from the Prophet. The author has divided them into three classes (i) those which he himself received from the Prophet, (ii) those which he heard through one medium and (iii) those which he received through the medium of more than one narrator. A few traditions may be given here to show the general nature of the Ḥadīth contained in this work.

One tradition runs:-

"While I was engaged in Muraqabah in a mosque at Cambay

"I saw the holy spirit of the Prophet which covered me

"with a sheet with the result that some subtleties of

"the religious mysteries were revealed to me."

Another is:-

"I asked the Prophet in a dream about the Shi'ah sect

"and he replied that it was "BĀṬIL" "

In a third dream he asks the Prophet which of the four schools of Fiqh is best. "All are equal" was the reply.

The other kind of Ḥadīth which the author heard through one or more medium are those which were narrated to him by his father or his teacher.

(4) A Ḥadīth in which all the guarantors are Bāṭil.

These Ḥadīth cannot be put in the same category as other regular Ḥadīth. They may be called Ḥadīth in this sense that they are traced back to the Prophet; they are of no value, as having been received only in dreams.

(2) AL-NAWĀDIR MIN AL-ḤADĪTH by the same author. This work, though under the same category, is not of the same nature as the previous one. It is just like a "Nawādir" in any other branch of learning, e.g., literature, history, medicine, etc. In this work the author has shown his wit and humour by collecting Ḥadīth with some outstanding peculiarities. It is an interesting brief collection. A few Ḥadīth may be given to indicate the sort of book it is.

He has mentioned one Ḥadīth as being MUSHAD AL-JINN - a Ḥadīth which a Jinn heard from the Prophet. This Ḥadīth is the most reliable of all Ḥadīth; even Western scholars do not doubt its genuineness, since the words actually occur in the text of the Qur'ān. The chain of this Mushad al-Jinn is very short, but at the same time most reliable to the Muslim. The chain of the narration is systematically arranged and the text is re-arranged it. He also added new material which he collected from

Here the first narrator, some Jinn, heard the Qur'ān from the Prophet. "The Qur'ān" is the text of the Ḥadīth; the Jinn is the first narrator, God, the second, and the Prophet, the last.

(2) Another Ḥadīth that he mentions is what is called Ḥadīth al-Mawḥi. That is to say, a Ḥadīth in which all the narrators, except the last few, say in their turn respectively:- "It is the first Ḥadīth that I have heard from the previous guarantor." It runs:-

3. His physical features.

4. The circumstances before his appearance.

(3) His signs.

i.e. a Ḥadīth in which all the narrators are Piqāns.

(4) A Ḥadīth in which all the guarantors are Sūfīs.

(5) A Ḥadīth in which all the narrators are Moorish.

(6) A Ḥadīth in which all the transmitters are of one and the same name, Ahmad.

(7) A Ḥadīth the names of whose narrators begin with the letter "Ayn".

This book is interesting, not from the standpoint of utility, but rather in view of the individual curious peculiarities of some Ḥadīth.

VI. COLLECTIONS OF ḤADĪTH ABOUT SOME PARTICULAR TOPICS

OR PROBLEMS: THREE BOOKS.

(1) TALKHĪS AL BAYĀN FĪ 'ALĀMĀT MAHDĪ ĀKHIR AL ZAMĀN by 'Alī Muttaqī whom we have known in the preceding pages. This book, as the title indicates, is a collection of Ḥadīth about the expected Mahdī. It was intended for the guidance of the followers of Muḥammad of Jawnpur (d. 910) who claimed to be the expected Mahdī. The work is not an original one. The author states that as the 'IRF AL WARDĪ of Suyūṭī was not systematically arranged and divided into chapters, he has re-arranged it. He also added new material which he collected from other books. It consists of an introduction and thirteen chapters. In the introduction he declares that Muḥammad of Jawnpur was not the Mahdī. He, however, seems to regard him as a saint, but he points out at the same time that it sometimes happens that even a saint makes mistakes and blunders. Only the Prophets were sinless. These are the headings under which he has arranged those Ḥadīth:-

1. The miracles of the Mahdī
2. His lineage.
3. His physical features.
4. The circumstances before his appearance.
5. His signs.
6. The way in which allegiance will be paid to him.
7. His helpers.

8. His conquest.
9. His meeting with Christ.
10. The duration of his stay.
11. His death.
12. A mention of those who have called themselves Mahdī.
13. The Fatwā of the theologians of Makkah and Madinah.

(2) MĀ THĀBAT BI ALSUNNAH FI AYYĀM AL BANAH (i.e. what is proved by the Ḥadīth with regard to the days of the year), by the great Muḥaddith of Delhi, 'Abd al Ḥaqq. This work is the first of its kind, as far as known to me. It contains all those Ḥadīth which relate to the months of the year. He begins with the month of Muharram and quotes all reliable Ḥadīth concerning the first ten days of this month. He rejects all those practices which are superstitious and not based on Ḥadīth. He declares that such beliefs as this, that he who applies antimony to his eyes on the tenth of Muharram, will never suffer from inflammation of the eyes, that he who takes a bath on the tenth of Muharram will fall ill, are mere superstitions and have no connection with religion. Then he takes a critical survey of all the Ḥadīth about the martyrdom of Hussayn, followed by an account of the relations between Ibn Zubayr and Mu'awiyah.

Under the heading of the month Safar he proves the absurdity of the common belief in the inauspiciousness of this month.

Under the heading of the month Rabī' II, he gives a short account of 'Abd al Qādir Jilānī whose death is celebrated by Muslims on the 11th of this month.

Then he discusses Ḥadīth relating to Rajab and the merits and demerits of Laylat al Raḡhā'ib (the night of desires) which is the night preceding the first Friday of this month.

Similarly with regard to Sha'bān Ramaḡān, Shawwāl, and Dhu al Ḥajjah, he narrates Ḥadīth relating to the "middle night of Sha'bān" Ramaḡān, Tarāwīh, 'Id al Fiṭr, 'Id al Adhḡā and

pilgrimage. He does not say anything about the month of Dhu al qa'dah, perhaps because he could not find any Hadīth referring to it.

(3) TAHQIQ AL ISHĀRAH ILĀ TA'DĪN AL BISHĀRAH BI JANNAH by the same writer. In this book the author has collected all those Hadīth which contain a BISHĀRAH (good tidings) relating to the entry into paradise of any companion of the Prophet. At the end, he gives many Hadīth relating to the merits and excellences of the members of the Prophet's family. He has collected all these Hadīth from the JAM' AL USŪL of Ibn al-Athīr and the Kanz al 'Ummāl of 'Alī Mut-taqī

VII. THE SECRETS OF HADĪTH: ONE WORK.

It is HUJJAT ALLĀH AL-BĀLIĠĠAH, composed by the great Shāh Walī Allāh. The chief characteristic of this book lies in the rational and critical exposition of Hadīth. Of course the words "rational" and "critical" are not to be taken in the sense as that in which Western scholars use them. One cannot reasonably expect a staunch follower of any religion to criticise the scripture he believes in, in the same way as a man of another religion will do. Still the author deserves some credit for having tried to rationalise his religious dogmas, and consequently the work under consideration has won him the title of the Qhazālī of India. In India it is regarded as being superior to the well-known book 'IHYĀ' AL 'ULŪM, which contains many unauthentic Hadīth.

In the beginning of the book the author says that the basis of all Islamic learning is 'ILM AL HADĪTH, dealing with the sayings and doings of the very founder of Islam. This science has many branches, of which ILM AL ASRĀR (the science of the secrets of Hadīth) is the most important. He who possesses it, is not like that man who, being advised to eat an

apple, by his medical adviser, ate a colocynth (Hinzal), on account of the resemblance that exists between the two fruits.

The underlying principle of this work is that every religious injunction of Islam is rational and justifiable from the standpoint of utility, but at the same time, says he, when a Hadith has been proved to be authentic and genuine, a man's conduct in acting accordingly should not be dependent upon his knowing the utility of the injunction conveyed by the Hadith, because every mind cannot understand everything, and so, says he, we should trust the Prophet rather than our minds.

In order to explain a number of Hadith which, he thinks, cannot be explained otherwise, he has maintained the existence of a third world, called 'Ālam Mithāl, which lies between the material and the spiritual world. Everything that exists in this world is said to have a corresponding existence in the intervening world of Mithāl.

This book has, in the first place, been divided into two main divisions. The first division which deals with the general principles of inferring the utility of the religious commands and prohibitions, is again divided into seven discussions, each being further split into several chapters. The second main division deals with the rational explanations of all the religious injunctions arranged according to order in works on Fiqh.

As this book is considered to be also a work on scholastic theology, it will be discussed further in that connection.

VIII. THE SCIENCE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF HADITH: ONE BOOK.

It is AL FAYḍ AL HABAWI, composed by 'Umar b. Muḥammad 'Arif al-Nahrwalī (Pattani).

This book consists of an introduction, in which the author explains the technicalities of Hadith, and four chapters, in

which he dwells upon the various kinds of Hadīth, rules for deciding the truthfulness of the guarantors, and conditions for receiving and transmitting Hadīth. Then follow various other discussions, concluding with a critical note on Bukhārī and his work, and a survey of all the books and chapters of the ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī with regard to the number of the Hadīth they contain, an alphabetical list of the guarantors and a copious commentary on the first two books of the ṣaḥīḥ Bukhārī.

IX. THE BIOGRAPHIES OF THE HADITH NARRATORS: TWO BOOKS.

(1) DARR AL SAḤĀBAH FI BAYĀ'N HWĀDĪ 'WARAYĀT AL SAḤĀBAH, composed by Hasan b. Hasan Baghani, whom we have known as the author of Maṣḥarīq al Anwār. It is a small treatise and deals with the places in which about eight hundred companions of the Prophet died. The names are arranged alphabetically.

(2) KITAB ASMA' RIJĀL MISHKĀT AL MAṢĀBĪH, by 'Abd al Haqq Haqqi of Delhi. It deals with all the guarantors of the Hadīth contained in the Mishkāt. The author begins with comparatively long accounts of the four rightly directed Caliphs and then, after accounts of the members of the Prophet's family, follow the biographical notices of all the remaining narrators alphabetically arranged.

X. FORGED HADITH: TWO BOOKS.

(1) RISĀLAH FI AL MADU'AT MIN AL HADITH, by Hasan b. Hasan Baghani. It contains those Hadīth which the author regards as being forged.

(2) RISĀLAT AL MAWDU'AT, by Muḥammad b. Tāhir, the author of the dictionary of Hadīth already referred to.

The book begins with an introduction in which the author

warns his readers that a Hadith should not be taken to be forged merely because it has been said by someone to be so, unless authorities are consulted. The Mawdu'at of Ibn Jawzi, says he, for instance, contains many Hadith such as are "Hasan" not to speak of "Daif". Then follows criticism on the merits and demerits of Hadith which are said to be "Mawdu'" by one scholar or another. It is a useful work on the subject.

The majority of Indian Muslims have always been Hanafi. By the time the Indian Muslims commenced to take part in the composition and compilation of works in Arabic, so much literature had been produced on the subject of Fiqh, whether Hanafi or of other schools, that no further efforts were made to produce works on original lines and hardly anything but commentaries, glosses and new compendiums was produced. Hence India's contribution to Arabic literature on Fiqh is nothing more than the construction of new edifices in imitation of the old ones, and out of the same materials, with a very slight change in the design. Moreover, I am not aware that, since the composition of the standard works on Fiqh, any other countries have been able to produce books of any original character upon this subject, in spite of the greater opportunities they have had for making contributions to Arabic literature.

Of all the numerous works relating to Fiqh, produced in India, eighteen deserve notice. They may be classed as follows:-

I. A Critical Account of Fiqh Two Books.

II. The Principles of Fiqh:

- | | |
|--|-------|
| (a) Text Books | One |
| (b) Commentaries on Standard Works ... | Three |

III. Fiqh (proper):

(a) Hanafi School:

- | | |
|-----------------------|------|
| 1. Fiqh | Five |
| 2. Various Topics ... | Six |

(b) Shafi'i School

One

Total Eighteen works.

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE ON FIQH

(1) AL'-INSHAF BY BAHĀ' UDDĪN SA'ADĪ. This is a work by Shāh Wali Allāh of Delhi, whom we have known in the pre-
 As far as the Hadīth literature is concerned, there is little or no variance among the Sunnis, who have, in all times, formed an overwhelming majority of the Muslim population. It is Fiqh which has divided them into four schools. The majority of Indian Muslims have always been Hanafī. By the time the Indian Muslims commenced to take part in the composition and compilation of works in Arabic, so much literature had been produced on the subject of Fiqh, whether Hanafī or of other schools, that no further efforts were made to produce works on original lines and hardly anything but commentaries, glosses and new compendiums was produced. Hence India's contribution to Arabic literature on Fiqh is nothing more than the construction of new edifices in imitation of the old ones, and out of the same materials, with a very slight change in the design. Moreover, I am not aware that, since the composition of the standard works on Fiqh, any other countries have been able to produce books of any original character upon this subject, in spite of the greater opportunities they have had for making contributions to Arabic literature.

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- (a) Text Books One "
- (b) Commentaries on Standard Works ... Three "

III. Fiqh (proper):

(a) Hanafī-School:

- 1. Fatawā Five "
- 2. Various Topics... Six "

(b) Shāfi'i School One "

Total ... Eighteen works.

I. CRITICAL ACCOUNT OF FIQH : TWO WORKS.

(1) AL'-INSHĀF FI BAYĀN SABAB AL'-IKHTILĀF. This is a work by Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi, whom we have known in the preceding chapters, and is a critical account of the theological differences among the Sunnis. The author has ably traced out the history of those differences.

Fiqh, says he, did not exist in the time of the Prophet, nor were theoretical problems introduced in that period. The Prophet did a certain thing and his companions watched him doing it; this was sufficient for their guidance. The people did not put to him more than thirteen questions, which are mentioned in the Qur'ān.

All the companions of the Prophet were not always with him; hence there was a good deal of difference in their personal knowledge of his sayings and doings. It was a common practice among the companions to enquire from one another if any practical problem arose, of which they themselves did not know the solution. The companions of the Prophet settled down later on in different places. When they were asked by the next generation to give a solution of any new problems, they naturally said in reply what they knew. This is one of the causes that led to the differences existing in Fiqh.

The second cause that he mentions is the different interpretations of the Prophet's sayings and doings. A bad memory is also given as one of the causes. Then the author traces the history of two different schools of Fiqh: one at Madīnah, where the Fatawā of the first three Caliphs were current, and the other at Kūfah where the Fatawā of 'Alī and 'Abd Allah b. Mus'ūd had supremacy.

(2) 'IQD AL-JĪD FI AHKĀM AL-IJTIHĀD WAL TAQLĪD, by the same author. It is an interesting book full of useful information, discussed in a critical manner. It is divided

into five chapters. In the first chapter he discusses the four bases of IJTIHĀD: the Qur'ān, Sunnah, consensus and analogy. In the second chapter he gives an account of the differences among the Mujtahids and Faqihs. In the third he emphasises the importance of adherence to one of the four schools and warns the reader against the contrary practice. In the fourth chapter he describes various classes of people from the point of view of their capacity for theological inference. He has divided them into four classes:

- (1) Founders of schools;
- (2) Jurists having a capacity for independent judgment within the limits of a school founded by some greater scholar;
- (3) Theologians well versed in theology but not capable of giving independent judgments.
- (4) Mere followers who entirely depend upon the guidance of theologians and learned men.

In the fifth chapter he warns the reader against the misuse of TAQLĪD; and says that a follower of any particular school must not look down upon other systems or attach too much importance to his own Imām.

The value of such a clear exposition of The problem of TAQLĪD as this book offers, may be realised when it is seen that the author, Shāh Walī Allāh is equally held in high honour and respect by those Indians who are MUQALLIDŪN and those who follow the doctrine of AHL AL HADĪTH, represented by the party of the present editor of the monthly periodical "Al-Manār" in Egypt, and by the followers of Hawwāb Qiddiq Hasan Khān in India.

II. PRINCIPLES OF JURISPRUDENCE: ONE BOOK.

On this subject in India there has been composed a book, which, like many famous text books has served as the basis for a long series of commentaries. It is entitled MUBALLAH AL THUBUT, composed by the great Indian philosophi-

88
 cal writer Muhibb Allāh Bihārī, whose fame has secured him admittance into the Encyclopaedia of Islam under the word "Bihārī". He was born at Karah, a village in Bihār. He received his education from distinguished scholars such as Quṭb al-Dīn Shamsabādī and others, and became one of the most eminent scholars of his age. He paid a visit to Awrangzib when the latter was in the Deccan. The Emperor appointed him qāḍī of Lucknow. He died in 1119 A.H.. He is the author of several works of which the present book on USŪL AL-FIQH and the other Sullam, on logic, hold a high rank in the Indian curriculum.

The MUBALLAM AL-THUBŪT was, as indicated by its very chronogrammatical name, written in 1109. This book is nothing more than a mere reproduction of previous material, but arranged in so scholarly a manner that it has ever since occupied an honoured place as a text-book in the Indian curriculum of USŪL FIQH. Several Indian scholars, including the eminent man of letters known as Bahr al-'Ulūm (the ocean of sciences), who has also received mention in the Encyclopaedia of Islam, have employed their pens in expounding the meaning hidden behind the wonderful brevity of the style.

In the beginning 'ILM AL FIQH and 'ILM USŪL AL FIQH were one and the same thing, but in course of time they became two separate sciences. The ANKĀM MUSTAKHRAJAH (deduced judgments) began to be called "FIQH", while those principles which governed those MUSTAKHRAJAH ANKĀM received the name of "ILM USŪL AL FIQH". It was Imām Shāfi'ī who first wrote a book on this subject. The relation between these two sciences is the same as that between dogmas and scholastic theology: that is to say, just as the aim of the latter is to rationalise the former, similarly the object of ILM USŪL AL FIQH is to lay down principles from which corollaries may be rationally inferred. The book consists of an introduction, two main sections, The third contains discussions on religious obligations.

one called **MAHĀDĪ** (data) and the other **MAQĀLĪD** (conclusions), and an appendix. The introduction contains discussions on the definition, scope and purpose of this science. The author defines it as a brief statement of the arguments and principles a theologian requires in order to work out the detailed arguments. For instance, says he, this science deals with such a principle as may guide us to infer from the verse "**Ātū Al-Zakāt**" that Zakāt is incumbent and necessary. The difference between logic and **Uṣūl al-Fiqh** is this, that the former is concerned with the mode of arguing and thinking and not with the truth or otherwise, of the premises, while the latter aims at both the aspects. The four "roots" for the deduction of laws - the **Qur'ān**, **Sunnah**, **Ijmā'** and **Qiyās** - are the **MAWDŪ'** (subject matter) of this science. The purpose of **Uṣūl al-Fiqh** is to gain knowledge of religious injunctions.

The section of **MAHĀDĪ** is divided into three divisions called **Maqālās**. The first **Maqālah** deals with logical problems, and so it may be regarded as a chapter on logic. The second **Maqālah** is again divided into four chapters. The first deals with **ḤAKĪM**, that is to say, the principle or final authority for good and bad. He says that God is unanimously recognised to be the final authority; but according to the Ash'arites goodness and badness are religious judgments, that is, the action which has been ordered to be done by religion is good and that which is prohibited is bad. The **Ḥanafites** and **Mu'tazilites**, on the other hand, hold that goodness and badness exist in things themselves, independently of religious commands and prohibitions. He further discusses this problem in detail and points out the difference between **Ḥanafites** on the one hand and the **Mu'tazilites** on the other.

The second **Maqālah** deals with the nature of **HUKM** and its various kinds, such as **FARD**, **WĀJIB**, **MUSTAḤAB**, **MAHDŪB**, **JĀ'IZ**, **MAKRAH** and **HARĀM**. The fourth is devoted to a discussion on man's capability or incapability of religious responsibilities. The third contains discussions on religious obligations.

The third Maqālah dwells on some subtle grammatical, philological and rhetorical topics which are essential for a thorough understanding of the language of the Islamic scripture.

The MAQĀSID consists of four chapters called UṢŪL, dealing with the four "roots" of the Islamic deductions. The appendix dwells upon ISTĪḤĀD.

It may be of interest to note that Amān Allah Banarsi, an eminent scholar of the age, was a contemporary of Muhibb Allah. They used to hold polemic discussions with one another on Uṣūl al-Fiqh. We find that Muhibb Allah often refers to his rival in his book, in order to refute his way of thinking.

The MUḤALLAM AL-ṬHUBŪT as a text book is highly appreciated not only in India but also in Egypt. The author was an expert in writing text books, and several commentaries have been written upon them. But it is a matter of great regret that this way of writing text books and commentaries has been harmful rather than useful to learning. Both these forms of literary composition were carried to extremes. The text-books are brief to obscurity or even worse, while the commentaries are tedious, and lengthy and full of uncalled-for and unnecessary matter, so that it is very difficult, even for a serious student, to follow the main trend of thought. But we cannot blame Muhibb Allah for this defect, for this way of writing text-books had been long established as the accepted fashion of the time and had been regarded as a laudable practice. His merit as a text-book writer should be judged from the standard of the time in which he lived and not from that of our time, in which text-books are written as lucidly and clearly as possible.

(b) COMMENTARIES ON STANDARD BOOKS OF USUL FIQH: TWO BOOKS.

1. A Commentary on Jalāl al-Dīn al-Khabbāzī (691) 's MUGHNĪ, compiled by 'Umar b. Ishaq al-Hindī (773). His full name is Abū Hafs Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. Ishaq al-Hindī. Having received education from Wajih al-Dīn Dihlawī and Shams al-Dīn Khatīb Dihlawi and other Indian scholars, he went to Egypt and was, later on, appointed qāḍī there. He is the author of several books. He was chiefly interested in Fiqh. He died in 773. His commentary on the Mughnī is copious and reliable. Hajjī Khalīfah has mentioned his Commentary.

2. A Commentary on the celebrated Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Nasafī's MANĀR AL ANẖĀR, composed by Mullā Jīwan whom we have known as the author of the Tafsīr Ayāt Ahmadi. He states in his introduction that there are several commentaries on this book, but they are either too lengthy and tedious or too short and obscure.

The value of this work may be judged by the fact that when he went to Madīnah and delivered lectures there on this book, they were so much appreciated by the scholars there that he was urged to combine and expand them into the form of a regular commentary on the Manār - and this commentary he completed during his short stay at Madīnah. On this commentary more than one super-commentary has been written in India.

III. FIQH (PROPER)

A. Hanafī School:

(a) Five Fatawās.

1. AL FATAWA AL HANMADIYYAH, compiled by Abu 'l-Fath Rukan b. Husām al-Dīn al-Mufti al-Nagori while he was at Nahrwalah in Gujarat, with the help of his son, at the instance of Qāḍī Hammadal-Dīn b. al-Qāḍī Akram, after whom this book was named. Nothing more is known of the author and the

patren. The author has given a long list of all the books which he consulted for the compilation of this work. It is a reliable book and is quoted in *Fatāwā* i 'Ālimgīrī. The arrangement is the same as in other collections of *Fatāwā*.

2. *IBRĀHĪM SHĀHIYYAH FI AL FATĀWĀ AL ḤANAFIYYAH*, composed by Shihāb al-Dīn Ahmad b. Muḥammad entitled *Niẓām Jilānī*, for the Sultān Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh (941-955) with the help of one hundred and sixty books. Hajjī Khalīfah has mentioned it and said

(It is a large book like the *Fatāwā* of Qāḍī Khān. It has been compiled from one hundred and sixty books.)

3. *FATĀWĀ JĀMI'* (or *Majma*) *AL HARAKĀT*, compiled by Abū 'l-Barakāt in the time of Aurangzib. It is, according to the usual arrangement of works on *Fiqh*, divided into several books, each book being subdivided into many chapters. It is not a voluminous work.

4. *KHIZĀNAT AL RIWĀYĀT*, composed by Qāḍī Ghāṣan al-Hindī of Gujarat (920). Hajjī Khalīfah has mentioned it. It is just like the preceding books, a work on the details of the *Ḥanafī* laws, and is a mere compilation from various works of the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries which the author often quotes. The order of the arrangement is just like that of others, except that a "book of knowledge" by way of an introduction has been put in the beginning. The author states in the beginning that he has throughout his life been interested in the studies of *Fiqh* and in the investigation of theological problems, the results of which he has arranged in the present work.

In the "Book of Knowledge" he deals with the excellences of knowledge and men of letters. Being *Ḥanafī*, he has written a discourse about the merits and qualifications of *Imām Abū 'Hanīfah*. He also explains the technicalities of *Fatāwā*

is not an original work, but at the same time not a mere re-

and Muftī. As regards the principles of Fatāwā, he says that in the first place it must be based on positive proof, derived from the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth. Failing that, it is to be based upon the decisions of Abū 'Hanīfah, then upon that of Abū Yūsuf and afterwards upon that of Muhammad, and so on. The Muftī is at liberty to choose any way that he likes, if Abū 'Hanīfah thinks in one way and both of his pupils in another; but if any of them sides with the teacher, then their decision is to be given preference, except when the standard theologians have, for the sake of some expediency (ISTĪṢḤAH), followed the single opinion of either of the two pupils. If a Muftī happens to find a reliable Ḥadīth and he is satisfied with its holding good, the opinion of Abū 'Hanīfah should be given up, according to his well known saying "Abandon my opinion if it is opposed to a genuine Ḥadīth."

5. FATĀWĀI 'ĀLAMGĪRĪ, known outside India as AL-FATĀWĀ AL-HINDIYYAH, which is superior to all the Indian works of this class and one of the best books ever produced on the Hanafi Law after the compilation of the well-known HĪDĀYAH, which is valued by Hanafis next to the Qur'ān, as indicated by these two couplets:

(Verily the HĪdāyah has, like the Qur'ān, cancelled all the religious books that were composed before.

Then master its principles and traverse its paths, so that your speech may be safe from error and untruth.)

This vast work, consisting of six volumes, was composed by a committee of Indian theological doctors, with Shaykh Nizām the president, appointed by Awrangzib, one of the greatest patrons of Islamic learning in India. By the composition of this valuable work India has made an appreciable contribution to Arabic literature on the subject of Fiqh. It is not an original work, but at the same time not a mere re-

production. As mentioned already, no book can be expected to have been original, on Fiqh, after the compilation of the standard works, and in view of the stagnant condition of Islamic learning at that time. The merit of this work lies in its being compiled not by a single author, but by a group of eminent theologians who had consulted all the previous standard books and spared no pains to produce a reliable and useful compilation. The following are some of its special features:-

- (1) The arrangement is the same as that of the Hidāyah.
- (2) Great efforts have been made, with the utmost possible caution and ingenuity, to discuss and explain all problems.
- (3) It is devoid of recapitulation/^{and}superfluous matter.
- (4) It is also free from unnecessary arguments and parallels.
- (5) In most cases, it is confined to the obvious aspects of the traditions and opinions quoted, and has nothing to do with rare decisions, except when there is no other solution.
- (6) It always give quotations from the standard books.
- (7) When there are two conflicting solutions for one and the same problem in the standard books, it gives preference to either of the two, by adding additional arguments.

(b) BOOKS ON VARIOUS TOPICS RELATING TO FIQH: FIVE.

1. ZUBDAT AL AHKĀM FI IKHTILĀF AL A'IMMAT AL A'LĀM by Abū Ḥafṣa Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. Ashaq, whom we have already noticed. The object of this book is to point out all the differences of all the four schools of Fiqh. It is arranged under the usual headings; and the subject is dealt with problem by problem, the differences of the four systems being given, if there are any. For instance, in "The Book of

Purification" the author says that all of them agree that that the essentials (Furūd) of an ablution are four in number; washing of face, washing of both hands up to the elbows, passing the wet hands over the head, and lastly the washing of both the feet. But they disagree as to some additional details. Niyyah and Tartīl are desirable but not essential to Ḥanafīs, contrary to Shāfi'īs, while Malikites hold that the former is Fard but not the latter. This work is somewhat new of its kind. It is brief and well arranged.

2. AL MANĀSIK AL BAḤIR, composed by Rahmat Allah b. Abd Allah al-Sindi (990). Rahmat Allah and his friend Abd Allah, two natives of Sind, went to the Hijaz and settled there and became disciples of 'Alī Muttaqī' of Burhanpur, the author of the KANZ AL 'UMMAL. These two friends were much respected there for their piety and learning and were called "Shaykhayn". 'Abd al-Ḥaqq of Delhi, who was also a pupil of 'Alī Muttaqī' records that Khawājah 'And al-Rashīd used to remark that these two Shaykhayn often reminded him of the other Shaykhayn Abū Bakr al-Siddiq and 'Umar al-Fārūq."

I saw a MS of this work in the Berlin Library. It is, as indicated by its very title, a book on the laws concerning pilgrimage. The author wrote a voluminous work on this topic, entitled AL MANĀSIK AL KABIR, of which the present work is an abridgment. The value of this book may be judged from the fact that a great theologian of Persia, no other than 'Alī al-qārī b. Sultān Muḥammad thought it worth while to write a commentary on it.

3. TAḤQIQ ARADĪ AL HIND, composed by Shaykh Jālāl Thānesari (982). He was both a learned man and a Sufī, being the Khalīfah of the saint 'Abd al-quddūs Gangēhi. The present book deals with landed property in India. As it deals exclusively with problems that are peculiar to India, a fuller description may not be out of place.

The object of the author in writing this book is to refute the idea of some scholars that if any piece of land in India is given by the Imām, that is to say, the Muslim king, to an undeserving Muslim, it does not become his legal property and hence it is not lawful for him to sell it and benefit by the price it fetches.

He says that India was conquered four centuries earlier by force and not by peaceful means; and it is not known who was the owner and of what land. Nobody knows what has happened to the original owners during this long time. Under these circumstances all lands in India are unclaimed property. If, in any village, there are the descendants of those non-Muslims who owned the land before the conquest of India by the Muslims, they cannot continue to be the legitimate owners of the land, as they have not been on good terms with the Muslims. Hence the condition of the Indian land is this, that it is neither distributed among the victorious warriors nor is in the possession of the non-Muslims. If later on the survivors of the original non-Muslim owners began somehow or other to cultivate these pieces of land, it would not imply that their possession of the land has been confirmed by the State. Thus the author concludes that all the lands in India are the property of Bayt Al Māl and whosoever cultivates them, having the permission of the Imām, becomes the legitimate owner of them in virtue of their cultivation.

If in any village, further argues the author, there are the descendants of those non-Muslims whose possession of the land was confirmed by the Imām, it may be said that in the first place their lineage is not certain, and in the second place, there is a difference of opinion between the Hanāfi and Shāfi'i schools as regards this point, i.e., whether the Imām can confirm the possession of a non-Muslim owner after the conquest of the territory by Muslims. According to Shāfi'i

law, an Imām cannot give land to a Kāfir, as it is an encroachment on the right of the victorious warriors and fighting units, while the Ḥanafī legists take the contrary view. The author, weighing the arguments of both the schools, concludes that in these problems we must follow the Shāfi'ī law, especially when non-Muslims are not on good terms with the Muslims and do not humble themselves, and so the Qur'ānic verse (Ḥattā Yu'tū Al Jizyah 'An Yād Wa Hum Baḡhirūn) (i.e. until they pay the toll tax while they feel humiliated) does not apply to them.

4. FARĀ'ID AL ISLAM, composed by Muḥammad Ḥashim b. 'Abd al-Ḥafūr (1174) al-Sindī. The author received education from Makhdūm Dīyā' al-Dīn and soon rose into prominence as a practical scholar in his province on account of his learning and earnest zeal for the spread of Islam. Through his influence hundreds of Hindus are said to have embraced Islam. He was in correspondence with Nādir Shāh, who favoured him very much. He is the author of several books.

In the present work, the author deals with the essentials (Farā'id) of worship, and gives them a definite number. He had reckoned them to be one thousand two hundred and sixty-two, of which three hundred and thirty-two relate to faith and the rest to practice. He has classified all the Farā'id under various headings, systematically arranged. This book is of a somewhat new type and is full of information.

5. JĀMI' AL TA'ZIRĀT. This work is comparatively modern, but not of the period after the Indian Mutiny. It was written in 1220 A.H. by Sirāj al-Dīn 'Alī who was the qādī at Calcutta when Henry Clerk and Herbert Harrington were judges there.

The author states that though the most important section of Fiqh is that which deals with HADD, QISAS and TA'ZIR (punishments for criminal offences) as it is the section through which the life and property of a man are rendered safe and

secure, yet there is not a single book dealing exclusively with these problems. Having felt the need for such a work, he, at the encouragement of Herbert Harrington, composed this work. This book contains an introduction, seven chapters, and a conclusion. In the introduction he distinguishes between a Hadd and a Ta'zīr in the following way:-

- I. HADD is fixed by the HADD while TA'ZĪR depends upon the will of the Imām or Qādī.
- II. HADD cannot hold good when there is a doubt of slightest degree, while TA'ZĪR is established by a doubt.
- III. A minor is immune from HADD but not from TA'ZĪR.
- IV. HADD is common to both a Muslim and a non-Muslim, whereas TA'ZĪR is applicable to a Muslim only.

Although the book has been written entirely from the Muslim standpoint and strictly follows Fiqh, yet one cannot but notice the influence of the newly brought culture of the West in the book. The arrangement and the treatment of the subject reveal it. It is an interesting work and is a credit to the author.. It is a matter of regret that it has not been discovered what reception this book received at the hands of the Indian Muslims at that time. It would have been interesting to know that.

B. WORKS ON SHĀFI'Ī FIQH : TWO BOOKS.

As already mentioned, the majority of the Indian Muslims adhere to the Hanafī school. Only in Southern India are followers of the Imām Shāfi'ī to be found. They are largely the descendants of those Arabs who migrated there from Southern Arabia; and as the emigrants were Shāfi'ī, a large number of their descendants also adhere to the same school. In Malabār where Shāfi'īs are found in a majority, and where Arabic studies are almost as popular as Persian in Northern India, it might reasonably be expected that there must have

been written some books on the Shāfi'ī law. I have found only two books, one written in Malabār and the other, near Bombay.

1. FIQH I MAKHḌUMI composed by 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Maha'ini (835), the author of the Tafsīr Rahuānī. It is a small book and relates to 'IBĀDAT only. It has been lithographed and also translated into Urdu at Bombay. 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, the author of the Urdu Tafsīr al-qur'ān states in his review of the book that ^{save} a few slight errors that have crept in, the book is quite a useful work for the average Shāfi'ī.

2. FATH AL MU'IN and its commentary, QURRAT AL 'AYN, both composed by Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (987), the author of TUḤFAT AL MUJĀHIDĪN. Very little is known of the author. A passing remark occurs in the ALQIBAR AL ANṬYAN by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Ḥaqqī (1052). 'Alī Muttaqī, the spiritual leader of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, when relating his adventures in Malabār, says that he happened to see 'Abd al-'Azīz there and that he was Shāfi'ī and qāfī. Besides the TUḤFAT AL MUJĀHIDĪN and the present work, Zayn al-Dīn wrote another book which contains Aḥādīth and Athār about death and the after life.

(638) had already been composed and mysticism had taken a definite form, which the Indian Sufis followed in much the same way as those of other countries. Hence we find in the Arabic literature of mysticism produced in India the same method of treatment as in earlier writings and a repetition of familiar subject matter.

The theory which represents Islamic Sufism to be the product of Indian thought has become discredited and modern researches have shown that Islamic mysticism is a complex, derived from various sources, one of which is Indian Buddhism. But it is noteworthy that if Islamic mysticism was ever influenced by Indian thought, this influence was probably operative outside India, that is to say in Eastern Persia and

100

CHAPTER V .

TASAUF OR ISLAMIC MYSTICISM

Having considered the contribution of India to the branches of Arabic literature concerned with the Qur'ān, Hadīth and Fiqh, in the following chapter we will pass in review what she has contributed towards that department of Arabic literature which, though still connected with Islamic theology, is less dogmatic and more emotional, less rigid and more catholic, less argumentative but more convincing and appealing - a literature that concerns itself with the inner life of the Muslim and embodies the emotional philosophy of Islam.

When Indian thinkers first began to write in Arabic, the standard books on Sūfism, such as the KITĀB AL-LUM'AH by Shaykh Abū Naṣr (370), AL-RISĀLAT AL-QUSHAYRIYYAH by Qushayrī (465), the 'AWĀRIF AL-MA'ĀRIF by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Suhrwardī (632) and the FUSUṢ AL-HIKAM by Ibn 'Arabī (638) had already been composed and mysticism had taken a definite form, which the Indian Sūfīs followed in much the same way as those of other countries. Hence we find in the Arabic literature of mysticism produced in India the same method of treatment as in earlier writings and a repetition of familiar subject matter.

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Transoxiana where Buddhistic teaching is said to have exerted considerable influence in the eleventh century. But it has not absorbed elements from the Vedānta or any other Indian system, as far as I know, since its advent in a fully developed form into India. I do not find in the Sufistic literature produced in India anything alien to the earlier Islamic mysticism as it was brought to India, with the exception of certain astrological disquisitions that have crept into some writings.

Of the many books produced in India on Taṣawwuf, about a score deserve mention. They fall under the following heads:-

I.	The theological support of the "Path":	... ..	Two
II.	Mysticism proper:	... ..	Two
III.	Versified treatment:	... ..	One
IV.	Methods and practices of the "Path":	... ..	Two
V.	Revelations: Mystic utterances and sayings:	... ..	One
VI.	Collections of moral and mystical aphorisms:	... ..	Two
VII.	Commentaries on the books written outside India:	Two	
VIII.	Lawfulness or otherwise of Sama':	... ..	Three
IX.	The formulae for invoking Divine blessings on the Prophet:	... ..	Two

Total: ...Seventeen

I. THEOLOGICAL SUPPORT OF THE "PATH": TWO WORKS.

1. LAWĀ'IH A:-ANWĀR FĪ RADD 'ALĀ MAN ANKARA 'ALĀ AL 'ARIFĪN LATĀ'IF AL-ABRĀR, composed by Sirāj al-Dīn 'Umar b. Ishāq. Previously mentioned, in reply to a question put to him, whether a certain Sufī was to be condemned for having regarded the LAYLAT AL QADR as inferior to the LAYLAT AL TAJALLĀ in the following two couplets:-

an adequate practical knowledge of the Islamic theology.

Secondly he must be a strict observer of justice and piety.

Thirdly he should not be influenced by worldly considerations

(He (God) appeared with all the attributes of beauty, and the eyes of hearts gazed upon that which bewildered the thinker.

How glorious the night, full of happiness and hope, compared to which the Laylat al-Qadr is insignificant)

The author commences his treatise with the praise of God and His Prophet in a manner befitting his theme, and then, after discussing the nature of MA'RIFAH (Divine Knowledge) he gives his judgment in favour of the Sūfī.

2. AL-QAWĪ AL JAMĪL FĪ BAYĀN SAWĀ' AL SABĪL, composed by Shāh Walī Allāh. The interesting character of this treatise justifies a rather full account of it.

The author first traces the origin of BAY'AH (allegiance). He says that in the early days of Islām, it was of five kinds: Bay'ah by way of political allegiance to the caliph; Bay'ah by way of pledge at the time of flight; Bay'ah by way of a pledge to be firm in a religious war, and lastly Bay'ah by way of a pledge to live a pious and religious life, with which Bay'ah he identifies the Bay'ah of the "Path" and declares it to be a Sunnah, as by a reliable Hadīth it is established that on many occasions the Prophet took this pledge from Muslim men and women. This kind of Bay'ah is mentioned in the Qur'ān also.

As to the utility of the Bay'ah of the "Path", he says that it is a psychological fact that if one and the same piece of advice is given to one person by various bodies, the effect varies according to the personality of the adviser. If he is of an outstanding personality and character, his admonitions will be the more effective upon his disciple.

Then the author lays down the following five conditions for a spiritual leader. In the first place, he should have an adequate practical knowledge of the Islamic theology. Secondly he must be a strict observer of justice and piety. Thirdly he should not be influenced by worldly considerations

Fourthly, he should advise his disciples in accordance with the commands and prohibitions of religion. Lastly, he must have obtained a full training from an older spiritual leader.

The author also lays down some conditions for a candidate for discipleship: he must be sane and of age, and must have a strong faith in the man whom he chooses as his spiritual leader.

Then the author describes the way in which the Bay'ah of the "Path" is affected. The spiritual leader should hold the hand of his would-be disciple and make him recite the formula of the Islamic creed and then, after bidding him repent of his previous misdeeds and sins, should take from him a solemn pledge that in future, as far as may be, he will keep himself free from sin.

At the end the author describes the methods and practices of those various mystical orders to which he himself belonged.

As the author is considered to be one of the greatest Muhaddith of his age, this work is still valued as being reliable and trustworthy.

II. TAHAWWUF PROPER : TWO WORKS.

1. TUHAFAT AL MURSALAH ILĀ AL HAKĪ composed by Muḥammad b. Faḍl Allah (1028). The author was a disciple of Wajīh al-Dīn of Gujarat who was a Sufī and a man of learning. This treatise deals with the problem of pantheism (WAḤDAT AL WUJŪD). He says that God is the only Being (WUJŪD) and that Being, though only one, appears in different garments. This Being is the reality of all existing things, and this Being, as such, can neither be revealed to anyone nor can be comprehended by the mind.

For this Being there are seven following stages:

The first stage is Absolute Being - Being, without any restrictions or attributes. This stage is called AHADIYYAT

and is the reality of the real. The second stage is that of the first restriction, which implies the self-knowledge of this Being in a summary manner and of its attributes and of all creatures to come. This stage is called AL WAḤDĀT and is the reality of Muḥammad.

The third stage is that of the second restriction, which implies the detailed knowledge of His Being and attributes and of the world. This stage is called WAḤIDIYYAT and is the reality of man.

All these three stages are declared to be eternal.

The fourth stage is that of spirits, i.e. things abstract and simple (uncompounded). The fifth stage is that of 'ĀLAM AL MITHĀL, that is to say, things compound, but still too fine to be divisible. The sixth stage is that of 'ĀLAM AL AMTHĀL, that is to say, things compound, material and so capable of divisibility. The seventh stage is that which comprehends all the foregoing stages, and is the last division, and is man.

The names of the first three stages are different derivatives of one and the same root, AḤAD which means "One". Actually, there is no difference between the meanings of these words, but the author has made use of them, to suit his own purpose as if there were shades of difference in their meanings. The same is the case with the names of the fifth and sixth stages.

The author says that this Being is neither interfused in, nor united with, the creatures, otherwise the plurality of being would follow. Further on, he says that the universe with all that it contains, is accidental while the essence is the only Being. This theory that God is an essence is incompatible with the generally accepted theory of the Ash'ari school which maintains that God is neither JAWHAR nor 'ARD.

Then the author describes the three classes of those who believe in pantheism: in the first place, those who know for certain that He is the reality of all creatures but do not see Him in them; secondly, those who see Him in creatures but not vice versa; thirdly, those who see Him in them and them in Him. Under the last mentioned class he puts the prophets and the highest saints, technically called Aqṭāb.

At the end the author gives in support of pantheism, quotations from the Qur'ān and Hadīth, some of which may be given here to show what sort of support this theory receives from the Qur'ān and Hadīth.

QUR'ANIC VERSES:-

To God is the East and the West.

Wherever you turn (you find) God's face.

We are nearer to Him than His neck vein. Follows:-

He is with you wherever you are. (In every part of the world) there was nothing with God, and now He is as He was (then).

He is the first and the last and the manifest and the hidden.

HADITH:

When one of you says his prayer he certainly talks with his Lord. Verily his Lord is between him and the Qiblah.

My servant goes on approaching Me by performing Nawāfil (Additional prayers) until I begin to love him. And when I love him I become his hearing with which he hears, and his sight with which he sees.

On the strength of such quotations one is led to doubt the theory that pantheism in Islām is due to external influences. It is quite conceivable that if Islām had been shut off from other contacts, even then this theory of pantheism would have been worked out in Islām.

2. Another work of this nature is 'AQĀID AL MUWAHHIDĪN, composed by 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad of Lahore. The author was a disciple of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn of Balkh and was a learned Sūfī. He belonged to the Chistī order. He wrote several treatises on Tasawwuf. The present treatise, like the previous one, deals with the complicated problem of pantheism. He works out his argument logically and says that God has no limit or end (MUNAZZAH 'AN AL HADD WAL NIHĀYAH, i.e. that nothing at all is devoid of Him, otherwise it would follow that God is limited up to the boundary of things and that things exist by themselves. He also quotes in support of his theory a Hadīth which runs as follows:-

In the beginning (i.e. before the creation of the world) there was nothing with God, and now He is as He was (then).

III. SUFISTIC POETRY : ONE BOOK.

It is HIDĀYAT AL ADHIYĀ, composed by Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Alī al-Ma'barī, the grandfather of Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, the author of the Tuhfat al-Mujāhidīn, a history of the Portuguese activities on the south-western coast of India. This poem was much appreciated and was copiously commented upon by two scholars: one Abū Bakr Makki and the other Hawawī of Java. Both these commentaries have been published. One of these commentators states that the cause of the composition of this poem is that the author was hesitating whether he should choose the study of theology or that of

Sūfian. While he was asleep one night, he saw in a dream a man who told him that Tagawwuf was to be preferred. The next morning he composed this poem, consisting of one hundred and eighty couplets. This poem is in the form of a QASĪDAH, the metre being BAHR AL KAMĪL and the letter ALIF being HARF RĀWĪ. special kinds of ritual practice in connection with the

The author after the usual HAMD and SALĀT, says that piety is the basis of true happiness and felicity. Then he explains that the true path to the goal consists of SHARĪ'AH, TARĪQAH and HAQĪQAH, and explains this doctrine by an allegory. SHARĪ'AH, says he, is like a boat, TARĪQAH, like an ocean, and HAQĪQAH like the precious pearl. Whosoever aspires after the pearl, must embark on the boat (SHARĪ'AH) and then dive into the ocean (TARĪQAH). He then explains various virtues, such as repentance, contentment, sincerity, resignation, abstinence and so forth, which, says he, are essential for attaining to HAQĪQAH. being in a particular

IV. METHODS AND PRACTICES OF SŪFISM: TWO WORKS.

1. AL-JAWĀHIR AL-KHAMSĀH, originally composed in Persian by Muḥammad b. Khaṭīr al-Dīn, generally known as the Ghawth of Gawaliyār, and rendered into Arabic by a disciple of the second generation, Sibghat Allah of Barwaj (in Gujarat).⁽¹⁾

(1) Dr. Loth, the author of the Catalogue of Arabic MSS in the India Office Library, has incorrectly described it as the work of the original author himself. The translator, while giving the pedigree of the author, remarks:- "He is the spiritual leader of Wajih al-Dīn of whom I am a disciple." This clearly shows that "I", the translator, and "he", the author, are two different persons. Loth infers from this passage that it was copied by the author's disciple, and so he thinks that this remark was by the scribe who copied it. This inference is incorrect. Another MS of this work, in the Berlin Library, written in a different hand, contains the same passage - which shows that it was not added by the scribe but by the translator. Besides this, Azad and others have mentioned Sibghat Allah as the MU'ARRIF (translator into Arabic) of the work in question.

This work is divided into five parts, styled JAWAHIR, which represent the gradual progress of the ṣūfī. The first part deals with the different methods and practices of devotional worship. The second dwells upon the higher forms of devotion. The third part is the most important, and deals with special kinds of ritual practice in connection with the ninety-nine names of God. It is very technical and can be understood only by those who are acquainted with this branch of ṣūfistic literature, as well as with astrology, for astrological considerations are here mentioned side by side with the ritual practices - a fact which may be attributed to Indian influence upon Islamic mysticism, though properly speaking there is no connection between astrology and ṣūfism. These practices are shown to have some connections with the movements of the stars and so forth. For instance, a particular practice is said to be effective only when it is done at the time of a particular star being in a particular position.

The fourth part contains the spiritual exercises and practices of the Shaṭṭāriyyah order, to which the author belonged. The fifth part deals with the merits and excellences of those who seek after the Real and the True.

2. RIBĀLAH FI SULŪK KHULĀṢAT AL-SĀDĀT AL-NAQSHBANDIYYAH, composed by Tāj al-Dīn Zakariyyā (1050), who was the author of several treatises on ṣūfism. He also translated into Arabic Jāmi's NAFAHĀT and Wā'iz Kāshifī's RASHAHĀT.

The author in the first chapter gives the pedigree of the Naqshbandī order, to which he was attached. Then he says that just as a physical issue is impossible without a father, similarly a spiritual production is not feasible without a spiritual leader. He says

(Whosoever has no spiritual leader, finds a leader in Satan).

In the second chapter he explains how union with God may be attained, for which purpose he suggests only two ways: either by constantly keeping the company of saints or by **DHIKR** (rendered as "recollection" by Professor Nicholson). Then he describes the ways and practices of "recollection" of the Naqshbandi order. The most important of these practices is that of inhaling and exhaling, after closing the eyes and pressing the tip of the tongue against the palate, mentally repeating the phrase in such a way as to begin it with inhaling and to finish it with exhaling.

The value of this work may be recognised from the fact that 'Abd al-Qanī al-Nabulisi (1143) has written an exhaustive commentary on it, under the title of **MIFTĀH AL MA'İYYAH Fİ AL TARİQ AH NAQSHBANDIYYAH**

V. REVELATIONS: SŪFISTIC UTTERANCES: ONE WORK.

One of the works containing the inspired sayings of the Sūfīs deserves mention, viz. the **MULHAMĀT** by Jamāl al-Dīn Hānsawī, the great-grand disciple of Mu'īn al-Dīn Chishtī, who is held to be the king of all the Indian saints. The author was a descendant of the Imām Abū Ḥanīfah and a great Sūfī in his age. He was the founder of a sub-branch, named after him, of the Chishtī order. His sayings are beautiful and inspiring, both in language and in spirit. Two passages may be given here.

These materials which invariably follow in the order above mentioned, are described under some eighty headings, arranged alphabetically as **SĀM Fİ AL İMĀN** and **SĀM Fİ AL İHSĀN**

(The seeker after the world is ignorant, the seeker after the next world is wise, and the seeker after God is victorious, etc. etc.)

No translation can reproduce the beauty of the text.

In the other passage he explains the full significance of a real FAQĪR (mendicant). He has put together all conceivable virtues, for which it is difficult to find English equivalents. It runs as follows:-

The other work of this type is *MAWĀ'IZ AL ḤIKAM* by 'Alī Muttāqī Burhānpurī, by the famous Persian poet of India, Abū 'l-Fayḍ. The author of the *MAWĀ'IZ AL ḤIKAM*. This book is in the same style as that in which he wrote his commentary on the Qur'ān, that is to say, it is devoid of dotted letters just as the very title of the book is. The author has collected his material from the Qur'ān, Ḥadīth, and similar sources, and has reproduced them in his own way, in order to avoid dotted letters. The value of this work lies in its style rather than in the subject matter, and so it will be further described later on along with books of literary interest.

THE COMMENTARIES ON THE WORKS WRITTEN OUTSIDE INDIA: TWO.

VI. COLLECTIONS OF MORAL APHORISMS : TWO WORKS.

1. *JAWĀMI' AL KILĀM FĪ AL MAWĀ'IZ AL ḤIKAM*, by 'Alī Muttāqī Burhānpurī, mentioned several times in the preceding pages. The author states that this collection consists of about three thousand aphorisms, of which five hundred are IQTIBĀSĀT, i.e. quotations from the Qur'ān; five hundred TAPMĪNĀT, that is, Ḥadīth, which on account of their conciseness are preceded by introductory and explanatory phrases rhymed with them; three hundred sentences of Ibn 'Aṭā Iskandari (709); one hundred of his disciple, and the rest are the sayings of the MUTAQADDIMŪN.

These materials which invariably follow in the order above mentioned, are described under some eighty headings, arranged alphabetically as *BĀB FĪ AL IMĀN* and *BĀB FĪ AL INṢĀN* Manirullah of Bihar. It is not copious, as it explains only

and so forth. As to the general character of the work, it may be said that it is of interest to those only who are Muffas, Mufasssīrūn and Muhaddithūn and are interested in the Sūfism.

2. The other work of this type is MAWĀRIḌ AL KILĀM WA SILK DURAR AL HIKAM, by the famous Persian poet of India, Abū 'l Fayḍ Fayḍī, the author of the SAWĀṬI' AL ILHĀM. This book is in the same style as that in which he wrote his commentary on the qur'ān, that is to say, it is devoid of dotted letters just as the very title of the book is. The author has collected his material from the qur'ān, Hadīth, and similar sources, and has reproduced them in his own way, in order to avoid dotted letters. The value of this work lies in its style rather than in the subject matter, and so it will be further described later on along with books of literary prose.

VII. COMMENTARIES ON THE WORKS WRITTEN OUTSIDE INDIA: TWO.

The Sūfistic philosophy of Ibn 'Arabī has found in India many supporters. Several Indian scholars have written commentaries on his famous work FUṢUṢ AL HIKAM, as will be clear from the perusal of the appendix. Of these Indian commentators, 'Alī Maha'mī and Muḥibb Allāh of Allahabad were scholars of repute. 'Alī's commentary is not known to be still in existence. The other commentary is in the possession of one of the commentators descendants who is the present representative of his order in Allahabad; he is a scholar to whom students go from far and near, to attend his lectures on this Commentary. Apart from these two commentaries, there is another in the India Office Library, which may be reviewed here. The title of this commentary is ḤALL AL MU'DALĀT AL FUṢUṢ, and the name of the commentator is Amīr Allāh b. Munirallāh of Bihār. It is not copious, as it explains only

some obscure and objectionable passages in the text. One or two of his explanations may be given here.

Ibn 'Arabi in his book says that man is to God what the pupil is to the eye which sees, and that this is the reason why INSĀN (man) is so called. The objection to this statement is that it means that man is an instrument for the sight of God; and this is KUFR (heathenism). The commentator offers the following solution: It is admitted that man is the only purpose of the creation of this world. Hence man is the ultimate purpose of God's sight, just as a pupil is the ultimate purpose of the eye. At the most this inconsistency remains that in the case of the eye, the pupil is the efficient cause ('ILLAT I FĀ'ILAH), while in the other, it is the final purpose ('ILLAT I GHĀ'IYYAH). Another objection brought against this same statement is that from Ibn 'Arabi's definition of man, it follows that the world is eternal. The commentator replies that man is HĀDITH (i.e. coming into existence in time) in consideration of his actual existence, but eternal in consideration of his being present in the knowledge of God before his existence. The latter is what Ibn 'Arabi means.

2. ITHĀF AL SADAT AL MUTTAQIN BI SHARH INYA AL 'ULUM AL-DĪN.

a commentary on Al-Ghazali's Ihya', by Sayyid Muhammad Murtaḍā. The commentator was a native of Bilgrām, and after receiving his education from eminent scholars like Shāh Malī Allah and others, went to the Hijaz for further studies. He stayed for a long time at Zabīd, after which he began to be called "Zabīdī". From Zabīd he went to Cairo, where he died in 1205. He was an eminent theologian and philologist of his period. He was the author of many works, of which TĀJ AL 'ARŪS, 'UQŪD AL JAWAHIR AL MUNĪFAH (in support of the Hanafī school), and the work under consideration are the most important.

114/3

This work has been published in thirteen volumes, lithographed in the Maghribi characters. In the beginning, the commentator, unlike other commentators, has devoted a considerable space to a full critical account of Al-Qhazālī and his works. While commenting on the text, he fully discusses both sides of all the problems and traces out the chain of the narrators of all the Ḥadīth given by the original author. Just as the Tāj al-'Arūs is a copious and important commentary on the Qāmūs, similarly the present work is a useful and illuminative commentary on the Dhyā'. These two great works bear testimony to Murtadā's vast knowledge and wonderful learning. India may reasonably be proud of these contributions made to Arabic literature.

VIII. LAWFULNESS OF SAMĀ' (MUSIC): THREE BOOKS.

Whether SAMĀ' is lawful or not is a controversial problem. Some theologians allow it, while others do not; much has been written on this topic outside and inside India. Here three works, representing three different views, may be considered.

1. JADD AL GHANĀ', composed by 'Isa al-Allāh Sahāranpūrī, who, besides being a theologian was a mathematician also. His commentary on the KHĀLĀṢAT AL ḤISĀB is far more valuable than the present work. He holds that SAMĀ' is unlawful according to the Qur'ān, Ḥadīth, judgments of jurists and the sayings of the saints and scholars. He mentions all these authorities in various chapters. He says that the so-called Samā' did not exist during the first three centuries. It crept into Islām at a later period. At the end he refutes all the arguments of the opposite school.

2. KASHF AL QINĀ' 'AN IBĀḤAT AL SAMĀ', by Salām Allāh b. Shaykh al-Islām, whom we have known as the author of glosses

on TAFSĪR AL JALALĀYH and ALMUWATTĀ. This work represents the opposite opinion on Samā'. It is divided into five chapters. The first chapter contains Hadīth; the second, Āthār; the third qiyās; the fourth, the sayings of jurists, and the fifth, the refutation of the arguments of the opposite party.

3. A small tract on this topic by 'Isā b. 'Abd al-Rahim of Gujarat. This author takes a moderate view between the two extremes and advises his readers to take the safest course which lies in not indulging in music so far as action is concerned, and in not believing in its unlawfulness so far as theory is concerned.

IX. THE FORMULAE FOR INVOKING THE BLESSING OF GOD ON THE PROPHET: TWO BOOKS.

As ḤALĀT, prayers for the Prophet, plays an important part in TĀRIQAH, works on this topic may be included within the scope of sūfistic literature; and so two such works are reviewed here. Both are by the same writer, Muḥammad 'Alī of Ghiyāthpūr, who is comparatively a modern scholar.

The first work is entitled NĀSIR AL 'UḤSHĀQ and contains hundreds of the formulae for invoking God's blessing upon the Prophet. The author has arranged them under twenty headings, such as parts of his body, his attributes, his garments, and so forth. The formula, for instance, runs:-

(O God, send Thy blessings and peace on Muḥammad and on the stature of Muḥammad among (all) the statures.)

In this formula only two words are changing throughout: one is that which is preceded by the second ALA, and the other is that which follows the preposition "FI"; and the rest of the formula remains unchanged, for instance, the next formula runs:-

(O God send Thy blessings and peace on Muhammad and the body of Muhammad among bodies.

This work may be equally taken to serve as a short philological treatise containing words with their broken forms of plural for many things connected and associated with a human being.

Having dealt so far with those branches of Arabic literature which are exclusively philosophical and religious, we now turn to that department of Islamic studies which lies midway between religion and philosophy - a department which is a connecting link between the aforesaid two opposite systems of human thought and knowledge: I mean Scholastic Theology, which may with equal force and significance, be called Philosophical Theology or Theological Philosophy.

In these formulae only the last phrase following "Muhammad" is changing.

Just as there is more than one theory as to the derivation of the term "TAKAWWUF", similarly there is more than one explanation offered for the origin of the technical term "ILM AL KALĀM". But just as in the former case there is only one convincing theory (i.e. the derivation of TAKAWWUF from the word "KUF"), so in the latter case the only correct explanation is that in the earlier days of Islam Greek philosophy and Islamic doctrines came into contact with each other and Muslim writers used to discuss philosophical problems under the heading "Al-Kalām fi Shu'ūn", which way of putting the heading became so common that in course of time it gave the name "AL KALĀM", to that science itself which confines its investigations to the philosophical discussion of the theological doctrines.

After this introductory remark, let us see what India has contributed to this branch of Arabic literature.

Of the numerous works produced in India, thirteen deserve mention. They fall under the following heads:-

- I. Commentaries on the standard text books on the Islamic Dogma ... Two Works
- II. Text-books on the Islamic dogma: ... Two

CHAPTER VI.

SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY.

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- II. Text-books on the Islamic dogmas:Two "

III. Commentaries on the standard text-books on	
Scholastic Theology	Two Works
IV. Text-books on the same	Two "
V. Books on Sectarian Controversies	Three "
VI. Scholastic Explanations of the ISLĀMIC AHKĀM	
(Injunctions)	One "

I. COMMENTARIES ON THE STANDARD BOOKS ON THE ISLAMIC

DOGMAS : TWO WORKS

Outside India many text-books on this topic have been written, of which two are, perhaps, the best known: One is 'AL 'AQĀ'ID AL NASAFIYYAH, composed by Najm al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafi (537), and the other, 'AL 'AQĀ'ID AL 'ADUḌIYYAH of qāḍī 'Aḍuḍ al-Dīn 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ahmad al-'Ijī (756). On the former, Sa'd al-Dīn Mas'ūd b. 'Umar al-Taftāzānī (791) and on the latter, another famous writer, Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sa'd Allah al-Dawwānī (907) have written commentaries. Both these texts with their commentaries are widely read, and many super-commentaries and glosses have been written on these commentaries by scholars of later periods. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, whom we have met in connection with several books, has written super-commentaries on both the aforesaid commentaries.

In the case of the AL 'AQĀ'ID AL NASAFIYYAH, his glosses are not directly on Taftāzānī's commentary but on Khayālī's (Mawlā Ahmad b. Mūsā, d. 860) well-known super-commentaries upon which glosses have been composed by several writers. The value of these Indian glosses may be judged from this remark of Ḥajjī Khalīfah:

(It is the best of all the glosses and accepted among the learned.)

In the case of the 'AL 'AQĀ'ID AL 'ADUḌIYYAH, 'Abd al-Ḥakīm's glosses are directly upon the first commentary on it by Dawwānī. These glosses are also copious and worthy of the author. But Ḥajjī Khalīfah does not mention them.

II. TEXT-BOOKS ON DOGMAS : TWO WORKS.

1. AL 'AQĪDAT AL HASABAH, composed by Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī. This is a small tract comprising all the important and essential formulae of the Sunnī creeds and dogmas. The present work is not a mere imitation or reproduction of previous works of the same character. It is composed independently of them and is a sort of digest of Sunnī dogmatics. The creeds being the same, the difference lies in the arrangement and exposition and slightly in principles also. Shāh Walī Allāh's work is more lucid and less technical and philosophical than the AL 'AQĀ'ID AL NASAFIYYAH and AL 'AQĀ'ID AL 'ADUFIYYAH. It is briefer also. The beginnings of both the last-mentioned 'AQĀ'IDS are philosophical. They start with the various ways of acquiring knowledge and with the HUĀDUTH of the world. They say it from the standpoint of and then by a logical syllogism conclude that for the created there must be a creator. Shāh Walī Allāh, on the other hand, commences his treatise in a rather sentimental way, saying: (I call upon God and those who are present from amongst died angels, jinns and men to bear witness that I believe from the core of my heart that for the world there is a Creator eternal ...) He asserts from the outset that there is a Maker of the world who is such and such. While mentioning all the attributes of God, he distinguishes between the ultimate and the immediate causes by saying that none but God cures the ill, none but He gives bread - in this sense that He says to a thing non-existing, "KUN" and it comes at once into existence, and not in the sense in which we say that a physician has cured a patient. With regard to the Caliphate all of them are in agreement as to the rightfulness of the first four caliphs and to their order of succession, but there is a little differ-

ence as regards the **AFDALIYYAT** (superiority) of the Caliphs to one another. Nasafī holds that the order of superiority follows that of their succession. Shāh Walī Allāh says

(The best of the men after the Prophet is Abū Bakr and then 'Umar), and does not go further, and says nothing about 'Uthmān and 'Alī. The fact is that the superiority of 'Uthmān to 'Alī is not so evident and certain as that of the first two over the last two, and so there is a controversy as to whether 'Uthmān or 'Alī is to have preference over the other. Shāh Walī Allāh has mentioned the most reliable part of the creed and has left the doubtful part untouched. The question of **AFDALIYYAT** is so vital to Shāh Walī Allāh that he thought it necessary to explain what he meant by **AFDALIYYAT**. He says: "We do not mean 'superiority' from every point of view, including lineage and bravery, etc., but on the other hand we take it from the standpoint of utility to Islām, that is to say, '**AFDAL**' means one who has been most useful and serviceable to Islām."

The other work of the nature under consideration is **MIZĀN AL 'AQĀ'ID**, written by Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, son of Shāh Walī Allāh. Like his father, Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz was a distinguished scholar, and the author of several works. He died in 1139. The present work is brief but at the same time comprehensive. It has been written after the old fashion of composing a concise text-book requiring a long array of commentaries and glosses. It is so condensed that even the author himself has written a commentary on it. So this text is followed by a commentary on it by the same writer. It is divided into three sections. The first section deals with beliefs about God, the second with matters relating to prophets, and the third contains eschatological discussions. While adopting a theory mid-way between **QADR** and **JABR**, he has given an interesting instance illustrating thereby the Ash'arite theory of fate and free will. He says that a man has got freedom as to his actions: he may sit down or stand

up; may sleep or remain awake as he chooses, but

(He has no further choice in this choice). A man may not intend throwing a stone but when he has actually applied any amount of force in throwing it, he is unable to check the necessary consequences.

III. COMMENTARIES ON THE STANDARD BOOKS ON SCHOLASTIC

THEOLOGY PROPER : TWO BOOKS.

'Aḥud al-Dīn al-Ījī's book on 'ILM AL KALĀM, entitled MAWĀQIF, is one of the best Arabic text-books, upon which the distinguished scholar Sayyid Sharif 'Alī b. Muḥammad Jur-janī (816) has written a commentary, known as SHARH AL MAWĀQIF, which like the commentaries on the 'AQĀ'ID has served as the basis of a large number of super-commentaries, glosses and super-glosses.

The first Indian scholar to write a super-commentary was 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, whose name and fame as a commentator is a sufficient guaranty for the merit of this commentary.

The other Indian scholar who wrote another super-commentary on the same work is Mir Zāhid, a distinguished author of high philosophical attainments, who enjoyed the patronage of Awrangzib and held the responsible post of QADIR at Kābul. Of his super-commentary, the portion relating to the second section (MAWĀQIF) on AL UMUR AL 'ĀKHAH has held so high a position in the ranks of scholastic literature in India that from the time of the author up to quite recent times it has been almost a fashion for each philosophical scholar to write glosses on it. Some idea of these glosses may be gained from the list given in the appendix.

IV. TEXT-BOOKS ON SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY: TWO BOOKS.

1. AL HISĀLAT AL KHAQĀNIYYAH, also entitled AL DURR AL THAMĪN. It is a tract on the scholastic investigation with regard to the problem of the knowledge of God, composed by 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al Siyālkotī who dedicated it to his royal patron Shāh Jahān. It is divided into two discussions. The first is on God's knowledge, and contains three discussions. The first discussion is (On proving the knowledge of God). He says that God's knowledge is accepted by all except a few ancient philosophers who denied it on the ground that just as the sun radiates its rays without being conscious of so doing, so God is the Creator of all creatures without having any knowledge of them. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm gives to this strange belief of the ancient philosophers a convincing reply, saying that if God is not knowing, then He must be ignorant - a thing which nobody will accept.

Another objection brought by them against the knowledge of God is a relation which presupposed a plurality of things, that is to say, there should be at least two things, viz, one knowing and the other known. If God is knowing, He must know Himself, which means knowledge of Himself, and this is absurd, as knowledge is a relation only conceivable between two things. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm refutes this objection in two ways. In the first place, 'ILM is not a relation but (an attribute having relation). Secondly, if 'ILM is regarded as a NISBAH, even then there is no difficulty, for one thing may be both subjective and objective.

The second discussion related to the nature of God's knowledge. God's knowledge, says he, is either identified with His Being or is something different. If something different, it either stands by itself or by the personality of God. Ancient philosophers generally hold that God's

knowledge is exactly identified with His Personality,

while the Asha'rites believe that it is other than God's Being but is dependent upon it.

The third discussion is confined to the problems concerning the universality of God's knowledge. He holds that God knows both the universal and the particular.

In the second section the author deals with the TAKFĪR of philosophers. He quotes and explains the opinion of al-Ghazālī who has declared that there are twenty problems in which the philosophers differ from Muslims, out of which the following three problems make them KĀFIR:-

(1) Their belief in the eternity of the world;

(2) Their denial of the resurrection of the body;

(3) Their holding that God knows the universal and not the particular.

This tract is interesting and lucid, and clear in its manner of discussing the subject.

2. The next Indian book on 'ILM AL KĀLĀM is BAHR AL MADHĀHIB, composed by Shaykh 'Abd al-Wahhāb, entitled Mun'im Khān of Qannawj, who dedicated it to Awrangzib, to whose court he was attached. This work is on the line of the MAWĀQIF, with this difference, that the BAHR AL MADHĀHIB covers the scope of the last three sections of the MAWĀQIF. In his introduction, the author gives a long list of those books by the help of which he has written this book, and explains the technical terms of scholastic theology. As to the rest, it is a reproduction of what the standard books such as MAWĀQIF and its commentary contain, with some additional problems not dealt with by MAWĀQIF. The style is easier and less complicated than that of MAWĀQIF and SHARH AL-MAWĀQIF. It may advantageously be read as an introduction to scholastic theology.

V. SECTARIAN CONTROVERSIES : THREE WORKS.

1. AL MUQADDIMAT AL-SANJYYAH FI AL INTISAR AL FIRQAT AL SUNNIYYAH, originally composed in Persian by Shaykh Ahmad Faruqi known as "Mujaddid Alf Thani", one of the greatest Sufis India ever produced, and translated into Arabic by a great Indian theologian of equal eminence, Shah Wali Allah, at the request of the scholars of the Hijaz when the translator, in the course of a talk on the Sunni and Shi'ite controversies, referred to the original text.

The learned translator did not confine himself to a mere translation but has also added useful explanatory and critical notes here and there - which fact has made the work still more valuable. He has also differed in several places from the original author, and has pointed out his mistakes. Shah Wali Allah has given a critical account of the author's merits and attainments and of the services he rendered to the cause of bridging over the gulf between Sufism and orthodoxy. The translator, while criticising the heretical characteristics of the time of Akbar and his son, Jahangir, remarks that it is curious to note that just as this period of Indian history produced a good deal of heresy and irreligiosity, on the other hand it turned out a large number of Sufis and learned men, of whom he has given a short list. Among the former (Sufis), he mentions Khawajah Muhammad Baqi, Shaykh 'Abd al-Quddus, Shaykh Muhammad Ghawth Gawaliyari, and Shaykh Ahmad, and among the latter (learned men) he gives the names of Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq, 'Abd al-Nabi, Makhdum al-Mulk, and Mulla 'Abd al-Qadir Badai'uni. This treatise, Arabicised and enlarged, has been further annotated by the translator's son, Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz, who in his turn differs in places from his father and agrees with the original author.

Another work of exactly the same nature is the RAID AL SHI'AH by Mulla Muhammad Muhsin who was one of the eminent scholars of Kashmir and well versed in philosophy and theology

He died in 1191. This work is one of the best books ever written on the Sunnī and Shi'ī controversies from the Sunnī standpoint. Some of the arguments contained in the book may be given here.

1. Had 'Alī been a MANṢŪB IMĀM, he would not have committed errors in giving Fatwās. Here the author enumerates some of his errors, one of which is that he allowed the sale of UMM WALAD (a woman slave who has given birth to a child).
2. Some of those Ṣaḥābah and Tābiūn who were among his party did not agree with some of his decisions, e.g. when 'Alī ordered some of the Khārījites to be burnt, Ibn 'Abbās remarked "I would not have done that, had I been in his place."
3. Had he been a MANṢŪB IMĀM, the Prophet would not have asked Abū Bakr to lead the prayers during his illness.
4. If he was the rightful successor, why did he not take allegiance from 'Abbās and Abū Sufyān, who were ready to give it?
5. Supposing Abū Bakr and 'Umar were usurpers, was it not unlawful for a MANṢŪB IMĀM to co-operate with them, to share the booty, and to enjoy other privileges? Why did he acknowledge them as Caliphs? He should have gone to some other country, as did Sa'd who did not swear allegiance to them but migrated to Syria. Even a humble Ṣaḥābī such as Bilāl did not recognise them. Why did 'Alī, so well known for bravery and valour, fear them? If he practised TAQIYYAH, why did not Husayn do the same? One of them must be wrong.
6. Had he been a MANṢŪB IMĀM, he would not have consented to be a member of the council appointed by 'Umar to select his successor from amongst them, because the appointment of this council clearly implies that there was no MANṢŪB IMĀM. When 'Alī agreed to be a member of it, he ipso facto accepted the underlying principle of the council.

7. Just as a Prophet cannot abandon his claim to be such, similarly a MANṢŪB IMĀM cannot do so.
8. If he had had positive proofs (NUṢŪṢ) for his being a MANṢŪB IMĀM, he would certainly have shown them to the people.
9. If 'Umar was an usurper and so HARBŪD, why did 'Alī marry his daughter to him?

Several books have been written in India on this topic from the Shi'ī standpoint, but I have failed to find one in this country, except one representing the Shi'ī view, not however dealing with the Shi'ī and Sunnī controversies but with ṡūfism. It is AL SHIHĀB AL THĀQIB by Sayyid Mīlār 'Alī who was a Shi'ī Mujtahid and a distinguished scholar in his time, and the author of several books. He died in 1235. The present book was written in refutation and rejection of ṡūfism. It contains an introduction and four sections called MAQṢAD (pl. MAQṢID) of various lengths, being further divided into chapters and sub-chapters, almost according to the same plan as that adopted in the MAWĀQIF.

In the introduction the author confines himself to discussing the thesis that existence is a self-evident truth which requires no further proof.

The first Maqṣad, divided into eight chapters, deals with problems concerning the unity and plurality of existence and the being of God. The author repudiates the pantheistic theory of the ṡūfis. This section is wholly scholastic and philosophical. The second Maqṣad, divided into six chapters, is devoted to the traditional treatment of the question. The third section with its seven chapters dwells upon KASHF, one full chapter, further divided into eleven sub-chapters, is confined to finding fault with eleven eminent ṡūfis, Ibn 'Arabī, Ḥasan Baḡrī, Abū Sufyān Thawrī, Abū Yazīd al Bisṭāmī, Ibrāhīm b. Adham, Ḥusayn b.

Mangūr, Al-Ghazālī, 'Abd al-qādir al-Jīlānī, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Farīd al-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, and Ḥakīm Banā'ī.

His whole argument is that if they had been real saints they would not have committed blunders and follies.

The fourth Maqad is comparatively short and is a sort of an apology for a doubt or objection that may be raised against his theory that if KASHF had been something true and real, there would have been no difference in such revealed matters. The objection brought against this theory is that such differences are possible in the process of thinking also, to which he replies that in thinking there is still some standard or criterion to which one may refer, but in KASHF even such a standard is not possible.

The chief aim of the book is to refute the theory of WAḤDĀT AL WUJūd, in doing which he has been successful, but by the way it refutes ṣūfīsm also. In this respect it is a failure. The author has succeeded in proving neither by traditions nor by reason the absurdity of ṣūfīsm. His chief point against these eleven ṣūfīs whom he has condemned is that they were not Shi'ah and so cannot be right. Among them the author says of Ḥakīm Banā'ī only that according to some he was a Shi'ah. About Ḥasan Baḡrī he remarks that he has been called the Sāmīrī of his age by 'Alī.

VI. SCHOLASTIC EXPLANATIONS OF THE ISLAMIC COMMANDS AND

PROHIBITIONS : ONE WORK.

Under this heading one work deserves notice. It is HUJJAT ALLĀH AL BĀLIḠAH which has been briefly discussed under the category of books on Ḥadīth. But as this book is rather in the nature of scholastic theology than Ḥadīth, a fuller account may not be out of place here.

Mawlana Shiblī, ⁽¹⁾ one of the great modern Indian critics,

(1) Shiblī, 'ILM AL KATAM (Introduction).

puts Shāh Walī Allāh, the author of the book, in the third period of the Islamic scholastic theology, along with two great scholars, Ibn Rushd (595) and Ibn Taymiyyah (728). Shāh Walī Allāh has not written any book exclusively on scholastic theology, and so outwardly it does not seem proper to reckon him among scholastic theologians. But his HUJJAT ALLĀH AL BĀLIGHAH, in which he explains the Islamic injunctions, is in the true spirit of scholastic theology. The object of this Islamic science is to prove the truth of the Islamic faith and religion. Now a religion consists of two parts: beliefs and injunctions. All the books that had been written hitherto on scholastic theology dwelt on the first part of the religion, i.e. beliefs and creeds, and did not touch the other part at all. Shāh Walī Allāh was the first author to write a book on this topic. While mentioning the advantages to be gained from his book, he states in his introduction that just as the Prophet was given the miracle of the Qur'ān, the like of which could never be produced by 'Arabs or non-'Arabs, similarly, the religion that he was given was also a miracle, because to bring forth a religion which may be perfect in every way is also beyond human power. He states further that just as many books have been written about the Qur'ān being a miracle, similarly there should also be books dealing with the miraculous nature of that religion. Then he adds that there are persons who think that many Islamic injunctions are irrational. For instance they say that tortures in the grave, the judgment, the bridge and the scale, etc., have nothing to do with rationality. Similarly it may be said that it is absurd that the fasting of the month of Ramaḡān is incumbent while fasting on the first day of the next month is unlawful. Again, what is related by way of inducements and warnings is also foolish. The author says that in order to meet all these objections and doubts it is necessary to prove the rationality of all these things. These two objectives of his books, that is, to discuss the miraculous nature of the Islamic religion and

to prove the rationality of the Islamic injunctions, form the most important part of scholastic theology. This is the reason why the HUJJAT ALLĀH AL BĀLIĠAH may be regarded as a treatise on the above-mentioned science.

(2) Those important problems of scholastic theology on which the author has dwelt in his book are as follows:-

1. The reason why man has been created responsible.
2. There is no change or break in God's habit or nature.
3. The reality of the soul.
4. The reality of reward and punishment.
5. The reality of matters relating to the resurrection and the next world.
6. 'ĀLAM AL MITHĀL.
7. The reality of NUBUWWAT.
8. The origin of all religion is the same.
9. The reason why God brought religion into existence.
10. The necessity for a religion cancelling all the previous ones.

'ĀLAM AL MITHĀL is the most important doctrine of his philosophy. There are many Hadīth which indicate that in this universe there is another world which is not material and in which things appear before they come into existence in this world. This new world is called 'ĀLAM AL-MITHĀL. He has given many Hadīth of this type, some of which may be quoted here to show their nature:-

1. The qur'ānic Surahs AL BAQAR and AL 'IMRĀN (II, III) will appear on the day of judgment in the form of a cloud.
2. On the day of judgment, actions will present themselves. The prayers will come first of all, and then almsgiving, and then fasting.
3. I see tumults raining upon your houses.

After mentioning many Ḥadīth of this type, he says that about these events there may be three views:

(1) Either to take them literally; when one has to believe in 'ĀLAM AL-MITHĀL;

(2) One may think that they are made to appear like that, while in reality they are not so; or

(3) They are to be taken allegorically.

Shāh Walī Allāh does not reckon those who hold the third view among AHL AL ḤAQQ. He has so considerably enlarged the scope of this 'ĀLAM AL MITHĀL that things such as the Prophet's seeing Gabriel, Angels visiting the dead in their graves, etc. have been put in this 'ĀLAM AL MITHĀL. Shibli remarks that if the author's explanation of these Ḥadīth be accepted by other theologians, there remains little or no difference between religion and philosophy. But the writer of the present thesis does not agree with the Shāh on this point. The first objection is that in order to explain away the irrationality of some statements made in Ḥadīth, he has to believe in the existence of a world which is not supported by our ordinary experience for the argument for the existence of this new world may be said to be arguing in a vicious circle; he believes in 'ĀLAM AL-MITHĀL because these Ḥadīth contain statements which necessitate this belief, and these statements are true because there is an 'ĀLAM AL-MITHĀL. Secondly, I cannot understand how this Ḥadīth, for instance, that Surahs AL BAQAR and AL'IMRĀN will appear in the form of a cloud on the day of judgment, can be explained by his theory of 'ĀLAM AL-MITHĀL. What is the relation between a thing in the 'ĀLAM AL-MITHĀL and the same thing in the physical world? I mean to say that if the Surah AL BAQAR and the Surah AL IMRĀN are like a cloud in 'ĀLAM AL-MITHĀL, what are they like in the actual world, and what is the relation between the two? I also do not see what objection there is to these Ḥadīth being taken allegorically.

This theory of 'ĀLAM AL-MITHĀL is not altogether a new one. It may be compared to the 'ĀLAM AHBĀH of Shaykh al-Ishraq Shihāb al-Dīn and the TAMTHIL KHAYĀLĪ of al-Ghazālī, according to whom existence is of four kinds: DHĀTĪ, MAṢĪ, KHAYĀLĪ, and 'AQLĪ.

The literature on Islamic scholastic theology, available in the time of the author and studied by him, consisted of the works of the later Ashar'ites only. Being a man of somewhat independent thinking and some originality, he generally differed from them in those matters which distinguished them from others. Some of his own new arguments and explanations may be given here.

1. One of the defects of 'ILM AL-KALĀM was that it made no attempt to meet the objections raised by the opponents against the Qur'ān. Books like MAWĀQIF etc. deal with the objections regarding the eloquence of the Qur'ān but contain nothing on the objections concerning the subject matter of the Qur'ān.

Some commentators have replied to them, but their answers are not satisfactory. They have, for instance, said in reply to the objection brought against the repetition of matters in the Qur'ān, that the object is to show command over the language. What an absurd reply. To express one idea in so many ways may be a credit to a human being - to scholars like Hariri and others - but not to God. Shāh Walī Allāh

has dealt with this problem in a new way. Teaching, says he is of two kinds; one is mere teaching and nothing more, i.e. a teaching the object of which is to let the hearer know what he does not know; and the other teaching is an efficient one, i.e. to teach a thing in such a way that it is not only brought home to the hearer but it also makes him take great pleasure and delight in it, and this efficient teaching is achieved by repetition of the matter in different expressions.

2. His reply to the objection brought against the Qur'ān of lacking any kind of arrangement or order, has already been mentioned in connection with his book USŪL AL-TAFSĪR.

3. One of the objections put forward against the Qur'ān is that in many places grammatical rules are broken. His reply is that the ancient Arabs of AL JAHILIYYAH, while making speeches, used to employ ungrammatical expressions, but as these ungrammatical expressions were used by genuine Arabs, they were regarded as accurate idioms. The Qur'ān has followed these idioms, which may be ungrammatical, i.e. not agreeing with grammar systematised later on, but not incorrect or unidiomatic.

4. All scholars hitherto have regarded the Qur'ān as a miracle from the standpoint of the elegance of the style, but it was the Shāh who asserted that the great miracle of the Qur'ān is that its teaching about morals, the purification of the soul, the Oneness of God, the prophetic office, and the next world is beyond human power to conceive.

5. He holds that the universe is subject to a law or laws which are never broken.

6. About miracles he says that they are matters produced by natural causes, the only difference between them and ordinary events being that in the former case perfection is predominant. Contrary to the Asha'rites, he holds that miracles and the acceptance of prayers by God and the like are outside the reality of the prophetic office, though associated with it in most cases.

Islamic learning adheres nothing but the old. De Beer is right when he says that "Islamic scholarship" has always continued to be an collection which depended on their stock of works translated from the Greek. The course of its history has been a process of assimilation rather than of generation. It has not distinguished itself either by propounding new problems or by any peculiarity in its endeavour to solve the old ones." To this remark I may add that if scholastic theology be included in philosophy, then it may be said that the Muslim scholars have tried to solve some old problems under the guidance of their creeds and dogmas, in ways different from those of the

Greek philosophers. I have deliberately used the word "somewhat", because even Muslim theologians have taken food

CHAPTER VII.

for their arguing from PHILOSOPHY. They have accepted all these doctrines and thoughts which fitted in with their creed, and with the help of the arguments for these doctrines, they have tried to refute those philosophical conclusions which

Having dealt with the contribution of India to scholastic literature in Arabic, we will now consider what she has contributed to Philosophy in the same language. Philosophy is the only non-theological subject in which Indian scholars writing in Arabic have taken much interest - an interest which is next to that manifested by them in religious studies. Though many a book has been written on this subject in India, yet we must not expect anything quite new and different from what had been achieved in that direction outside India. As already pointed out more than once, Arabic books written in India date from the eleventh century of the Christian era, when Arabic learning had reached a limit beyond which it failed to progress further. Since that century the activities of the Muslim world have been largely confined to the making of commentaries and the reproduction of old materials. Moreover, it must also be borne in mind that philosophy is a subject in which even the early Muslim scholars in the centres of Islamic learning achieved nothing original. De Boer is right when he says that "Muslim philosophy has always continued to be an eclecticism which depended on their stock of works translated from the Greek. The course of its history has been a process of assimilation rather than of generation. It has not distinguished itself either by propounding new problems or by any peculiarity in its endeavour to solve the old ones." To this remark I may add that if scholastic theology be included in philosophy, then it may be said that the Muslim scholars have tried to solve some old problems under the guidance of their creeds and dogmas, in ways different from those of the

into consideration:-

Greek philosophers. I have deliberately used the word "somewhat", because even scholastic theologians have taken food for their arguing from Greek philosophy. They have accepted all those doctrines and thoughts which fitted in with their creed, and with the help of the arguments for those doctrines, they have tried to refute those philosophical conclusions which were opposed to their religion. Muslim scholastic theology is largely taken up with the refutation of certain doctrines of Greek philosophy from the standpoint of Islamic orthodoxy. Anyhow when Muslim philosophers like Kī'ndī, Fārābī, Ibn Miskawayh, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd produced so little that is original, how can anything new be expected from Arabic writers in India? If Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā have expounded the philosophy of the Greek philosophers in their writings, Indian authors have only performed a similar service for a later generation in India.

The Indian scholars have shown greater and keener interest in the study of logic than in physics and metaphysics. I think that Muslim logicians have added something to that knowledge of logic which they learnt from the Greek. As far as is known to me, no effort has been made as yet to compare the logic of the Muslims with that of Greece, starting with a comparison between the Arabic translation of Aristotle's *Organon* and the Greek text in order to find the original significance of the terms and how their meaning was changed in course of time, and then tracing the gradual development of Arabian logic in order to discover what new contribution the Muslim logicians made to Aristotle's logic.

The hold of logic on the minds of the Muslim thinkers has been so strong that whatever problems they may discuss they do so in an exact and logical manner. To illustrate what I mean, I may give here an instance. To take the problem whether or not there is a God, a Muslim philosophical writer will argue in the following way, taking all the possibilities into consideration:-

There is either a God or no God. If there is a God, He may be one or more than one. If more than one, they are either independent of each other or not. In the same way he will take all possibilities into consideration in case there is no God. And then he will start discussion and examination from the bottom upwards, eliminating and rejecting what is absurd to him, and thus finally proving what he holds to be the true solution of the problem.

The contribution of India to the philosophical section of Arabic literature is so considerable that a separate treatise might be written on this subject. Before therefore I discuss the contribution of India to philosophic thought, I propose to give here a short account of the writers themselves.

The first great scholar of high philosophical attainments who promoted the study of philosophy in India was Abd Allah of Tulunba, a village in Multan. He left his native place for Delhi in the reign of Sikandar Iūdī and settled there. The king had a great respect for his learning and used to attend his lectures, taking a seat unnoticed in a corner of the lecture-room so that the class might not be disturbed. He is the first Indian author who wrote on philosophy. He compiled a commentary entitled *BADĪ 'AL MĪZÂN* on a logical treatise known as *MĪZÂN AL MANTIQ*. This commentary with the text is still widely read by the students of Logic in India.

Then comes the famous Mulla Mahmūd of Jawnpūr (1062), after whose death his learned teacher Muhammad Afḡal smiled no more. The shock was so great that he survived his pupil only for forty days. Mahmūd was an eminent scholar in his time and was a contemporary of two other equally distinguished men of letters, one 'Abd al-Rashīd (1083) Jawnpūrī, and the other 'Abd al-Ḥakīm Siyālkūtī. Mahmūd is the author of several works of which *AL ḤIKMAT AL BĀLIḠAH* with a commentary by the same author entitled *AL SHAMS AL BĀLIḠAH* and *AL DAWĠAH*

are well known. 'Abd al-Rashīd wrote a commentary entitled **AL RASHĪDIYYAH** on Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī's treatise on dialectics. This commentary is still widely read in India. 'Abd al-Hakīm Siyālkūtī also wrote several commentaries on the text-books of philosophy.

These scholars were followed by Mīr Muḥammad Zāhid, son of qāḍī Muḥammad Aslam (1101) and the famous Muḥibb Allāh of Bihār (1119). The former was a scholar noted for high philosophical attainments. He was first attached to the court of Shājahān and after his death to that of his successor. He wrote three glosses on three standard books, viz. on **SHARḤ AL MAWĀQIF** referred to in the last chapter, the **SHARḤ AL TANHĪB** and the **RISĀLAT AL QUTĪBIYYAH**. The two last works will be discussed later on. All these three sets of glosses are generally known as **AL HAWĀSHI AL THALĀTHAT AL ZĀHIDIYYAH**.

qāḍī Muḥibb Allāh of Bihār, as we have seen in the **FIQH** section of this thesis, was the author of three works, one on the principles of Fiqh, entitled **MUBALLAM AL THUBŪT**, discussed already, the second on logic, **SULLAM AL-'ULŪM**, and the third a small treatise on a philosophical problem, **AL JAWHAR AL FARD**. All these works are highly esteemed in India, and **SULLAM** has long been accepted as a standard work upon which no less than half a dozen eminent scholars have written independent commentaries.

From what has been said above, it will be clear that before the advent of the Mughals in India there was only one scholar, namely, 'Abd Allāh, who was especially interested in philosophic studies. But it was during the Mughal period that several eminent scholars of philosophical attainments flourished. The courts of Shājahān and 'Alangīr especially proved to be a magnet to attract scholars. During the decline of this dynasty we find that the states of Rampur and Lucknow extended patronage to men of letters. Here a respectable and learned family of Khayrūbād deserves notice. Of

this family three generations, the grandfather, father and son, were noted for their abilities in philosophic learning. The grandfather was Faql Imām (1243) who wrote a text-book on logic entitled MIRQĀT and a commentary entitled TAKHḤIH AL ADHḤĀN on the BADĪ' AL MĪZAN mentioned above. His son, Faql al Ḥaqq, was a greater scholar. He wrote a text-book on physics entitled AL HADHIYYAT AL SA'ĪDIYYAH; which he dedicated to Sa'id al-Dīn Khān, Nawwāb of Rampur, to whose court he was attached. His son 'Abd al-Ḥaqq was also an eminent scholar noted for philosophical attainments. His commentary on the well-known text-book on philosophy, entitled HIDĀYAT AL ḤIKMAH, is still appreciated in India.

Besides them, qāqī Mubarak, Hamd Allah, Ahmad 'Alī Muḥammad Muḥib Mulla Ḥasan, Baḥr al 'Ulūm and other scholars known as Uḥṣā' i Farangi Maḥal have been logicians of reputation in India. But it is a matter of regret that none of these scholars deviated from the beaten track of the old philosophy. They did not aspire to do more than write commentaries on the system of Logic devised by Ibn Sīnā, with merely slight and verbal differences here and there. Their philosophy was confined to the exposition of what had already been said by Ibn Sīnā whom they call al-Shaykh.

No branch of learning was so much misused in India as were grammar and logic. For the former they sacrificed the study of pure literature for which the study of grammar serves but as a means. Similarly they studied logic for its own sake, though it was originally intended to serve as an instrument for the acquisition of knowledge. Their merely verbal and technical discussions have won them a bad reputation, and many stories are current which reveal the attitude of the public towards the logicians. One or two may not be out of place here.

Once a father and a son sat together to take their food. There was, among other things, only one egg, meant

for both. "What are you learning these days?" asked the father. "Logic," was the reply. "What is that?" the father continued. "It is a science," rejoined the youth, "by which I can prove that this one egg is two." "Do, please!" said the father eagerly, whereupon the son began to prove his contention by processes of logic which were, of course, unintelligible to his father, concluding his speech by saying, "Therefore, this egg is two." "I am very glad," said his father, "that you have proved the existence of two eggs in this dish. I shall take this, and you can take the other one."

The other story is that a student of logic, on his way to school, came across the old-fashioned oil-pressing machine worked by an ox. He stopped there for a while, and having observed the whole construction of the machine, approached the owner who was sitting on one side, and said to him, "I have been able to understand the use and purpose of all the parts of the machine, but I cannot comprehend why you have hung a bell around the neck of the ox." "So that," replied the man, "I may know while sitting here that the ox is moving." "But," rejoined the young logician, "the animal may keep his neck moving instead, while he himself is standing still." Whereupon, the machine-man, realising that the young enquirer was a logician, dismissed the matter by simply saying that his ox was not a logician.

Now I propose to give a detailed account of the contribution of India to the philosophical section of Arabic literature.

Of all the works on philosophy written in India, about thirty deserve notice. They fall under three main divisions:

I. Commentaries on standard text-books on dialectics... 1

II. Philosophy proper (Physics and Metaphysics):

A. Text-Books ...	4
B. Commentaries ...	8

definitions of all the terms of this science, MĀGĀHĀN

III. Works on Logic:

- A. Text-Books 3
- B. Commentaries... .. 15.

According to this definition..... source is said to be 'ILLAT GURIYYAH (formal cause); oppositely, 'ILLAT H'ILYYAH (active

I. COMMENTARIES ON THE STANDARD TEXT-BOOKS ON DIALECTICS:

lastly, seeking the TWO WORKS. 'ILLAT GURIYYAH (formal cause).

On dialectics there are two well-known text-books; one is AL RIZĀLAT AL 'AḤḌIYYAH, composed by 'Aḡud al-Dīn 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Aḡmad al-'Ijī (756) and the other, Al-Ādāb al-sharīfiyyah of Al-Sayyid Al-Sharīf 'Alī b. Muḥammad Jurjānī (816). On the former two Indian scholars have written commentaries: one is Nūr al-Dīn Ahmadābādī (1150), and the other 'Abd al-Hayy, a much later prolific writer of Lucknow (d. 1304). His commentary, entitled AL-HADIYYAT AL-MUKHTARIYYAH, is copious and has almost surpassed all previous works of the same character, as the commentator incorporated them in his work; but as the author does not properly belong to the period covered by the present thesis, I need not say anything more about his work.

The treatise on dialectics by Al-Sayyid Al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī, being more detailed and elaborate than that of 'Aḡud al-Dīn, has been much more commonly used. Upon this text two contemporary Indian scholars wrote commentaries: one commentary is entitled AL ĀDĀB AL BĀQIYYAH, composed by 'Abd al-Bāqī (1084), and the other is AL ĀDĀB AL SHARĪFIYYAH, by a greater scholar, 'Abd al-Rashīd of Jawnpur (1083), who was noted for his vast learning and piety. When the emperor Shāh-jahan heard of his high qualifications, he sent him an invitation. But 'Abd al Rashīd did not accept it. His commentary being more detailed and copious than the other one, attracts a greater degree of attention than the former.

This commentary contains an introduction, nine discourses, and an appendix. The introduction deals with the definitions of all the terms of this science, MUKĀZARAH

(dialectics) is defined as a discussion between two rivals on a certain topic for the purpose of arriving at the truth. According to this definition a discourse is said to be 'ILLAT ḠUNĪYYAH (formal cause); opponents, 'ILLAT FĀ'ILĪYYAH (motive cause); the topic, 'ILLAT MĀDDIYAH (material cause); and lastly, seeking the truth, 'ILLAT ḠHĀ'ĪYYAH (final cause). The commentator lays much emphasis on the last, the absence of which changes MUNĀẒARAH into MUJĀDALAH or MUKABARAH (a dispute for supremacy).

The gist of the first discourse of the book is that if a man (called MUDDA'Ī, (assertor) makes an assertion with which another man called SĀ'IL, enquirer) does not agree, the latter will demand proof, saying "I do not admit what you say" whereupon the assertor will submit his arguments. This demand of proof is technically called MAN'. The opponent (i.e. the enquirer) can either reject it on account of some logical fault (this way of refutation being called NAQP) or oppose it with a counter argument, saying "I have an argument which proves the contrary," (this way of rejection being called MU'ĀRAPAH). His argument being opposed by the opponent, the original assertor now assumes the position of an opponent (SĀ'IL), and the original SĀ'IL becomes an assertor (MUDDA'Ī). This process of the exchange of their respective positions will go on for some time until the truth is arrived at.

The second discourse says that before a debate is started, each word in the assertion should be clearly defined, in order to avoid misunderstanding and ambiguity. This definition is also subject to the above-mentioned ways of opposition, viz. MAN', NAQP, and MU'ĀRAPAH. But to demand definition for those words which both parties understand well does not become a proper MUNĀẒARAH.

The third discourse deals with quotations. References may be demanded for quotations, provided that the enquirer does not know them, otherwise it becomes MUJĀDALAH instead of MUNĀẒARAH.

The next four discourses dwell elaborately and individually upon the detailed explanations of MAH', HAQD, and MU'ĀRAḌAH.

The eighth discourse discusses how an assertor becomes an opponent and vice versa. The ninth discourse directs the reader not to argue if the assertor or the opponent, as the case may be, is not serious in the debate, and is intentionally committing a fallacy.

II. BOOKS ON PHILOSOPHY PROPER: (A) TEXT-BOOKS :FOUR.

1. AL DAḤAT AL MAYYĀDAH FI ḤAQĪQAT AL ŠURAH WAL MĀDDAH, a treatise on the discussion of "form and matter" by Mulla Maḥmūd of Jawnpur mentioned above. In this treatise he says that all thinkers agree that in a physical body there is something which admits of changes. There is a good deal of controversy as to what that thing is. AL ḤUKĀMĀ'AL IŠHRĀQIY-YŪN (the intuitionists) hold that it is the very essence of a body (NAFS AL JISM). Scholastic theologians are of the opinion that it is the indivisible part (AL JUZ' LĀ YATAJAZZĀ) of the body, while AL ḤUKĀMĀ'AL MAŠISHĀ'ŪM (Peripatetic philosophers) advance this theory, that every physical body is composed of two essential and inseparable things: one is matter (MAYŪLA) and the other is form (ŠURAH). No form without matter and no matter without form. The author supports this theory and refutes others.

2. AL ḤIKMAT AL BALIGHAH, by the same author. This book was meant to cover all the branches of philosophy, logic, physics and metaphysics, but as the author commenced it during his last illness, only two out of six or eight sections of physics were completed, and the other two branches of philosophy viz. logic and metaphysics, remained untouched.

3. AL JAWHAR AL FARD, by Muḥibb Allāh Bihārī, whom we have known as the author of the MUBALLAH AL THUBŪT. In this tract

(2) According to the 30th Chapter of Euclid, the square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares on the sides containing the right angle. If the side of the square is one unit long, then the hypotenuse will be $\sqrt{2}$ units long. This is the basis of the theory of the indivisible part. The author deals with JUZ'LA YATAJAZZA (indivisible part), also called AL JAWHAR AL FARD. This work is almost on the same line as AL DAWHAT AL MAYYADAH by Mulla Mahmūd, with this difference, that the scope of the latter is a little wider, as it deals with ^{both} form and matter, while AL JAWHAR AL FARD is confined to the discussions concerning the indivisible part only. About the divisibility and indivisibility of an ultimate part there are four theories. The majority of the scholastic theologians hold that a body is composed of limited, i.e. further indivisible parts, which are actually present in it; while Abū 'l Fath Shahrastānī, the author of the KITĀB AL MIHĀL WAL-NIHAL, differs from the above opinion in denying the actual presence of the indivisible parts in a whole, but holds that they are only there potentially. The third theory is that a body is composed of unlimited (i.e. always divisible) parts which are actually present in the whole. This doctrine is advocated by Ḥaḡḡām al Mu'tazilī. The fourth theory supports the potential presence rather than the actual presence of unlimited parts. This theory is held by the majority of Muslim philosophers and by some scholastic theologians of philosophical tendencies also.

The author simply reproduces all the arguments used by previous writers. There is hardly anything new, except the style and the way of exposition, and the fact that he has collected all the arguments given by different authors in one place. Of all the four theories, he is active in refuting the theory of AL JAWHAR AL FARD held by the scholastic theologians. He has given several mathematical proofs in refutation of this theory. One or two may be given here to show their nature.

(1) Every line can be divided into two or three equal parts. If one line consists of one or three so-called indivisible atoms, its division into half means the further breaking up of the middle atom.

(2) According to the 39th theorem of Euclid, the square of the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares of the remaining two sides. If one atom is one unit long and one unit wide, the hypotenuse will be greater than one and less than two units which means that an atom is to be further broken up.

(3) If you draw a circle on a so-called indivisible atom, it will touch the four sides of the atom on four points only, and the rest of the circle will run inside the atom, dividing it further.

One or two arguments of the holders of the opposite view may also be given here. Their chief argument is that if a straight line is drawn touching a circle they will meet each other at a point only which is the ultimate part of the circle or the line, and cannot be divided further, as a point has no capacity for division.

The other argument advanced by them runs like this: If you say that a mountain has unlimited atoms just as a small grain has, then why is the mountain so much bigger than a grain, although both of them are composed of unlimited atoms?

It is a curious thing that most scholastic theologians hold this theory of AL JUZ' LĀ YATAJAZZĀ because thereby they can refute the doctrine of the eternity of the world, as Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī says in his commentary on the 'Aqā'id that by establishing the existence of this theory one can be safe from many heathen arguments of the philosophers; while Muslim scholars of philosophical tendencies such as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Athīr al-Dīn Abharī, the author of the HIDĀYAT AL HIKMAH, Mullā Mahmūd Jawnpuri and Muhibb Allah al-Bihārī, who wrote an excellent work on the principles of Jurisprudence - all these people, in spite of being staunch Muslims, held the contrary view and with the same purpose.

(3) 'ILM AL HAWA WAL FARAD (20 generations of corruption)

(4) 'ILM AL FI'L WAL INFI'AL (20 causes of corruption);

4. The fourth text-book on philosophy is AL HADHIYYAT AL SA'IDIYYAH, composed by a later scholar named FAHL HAQQ Khayrābādī, who was noted for being well versed in philosophical studies. This book was dedicated to Muhammad Sa'id Khan, the Nawab of Rāmpūr. As this book is a good example of a text-book on physics ultimately based on the Aristotelian philosophy, a fuller account may not be undesirable.

It begins with the definition and classification of HIKMAH (Wisdom). HIKMAH means knowledge of the realities of things as they are, as far as is possible for human beings and the performance of those acts which lead a man to perfection. Things are, in the first place, of two kinds: those which lie in our power and those which do not. Knowledge about the former is called AL-HIKMAT AL-'AMALIYYAH, for things lying within our power are only our actions. AL-HIKMAT AL-'AMALIYYAH (Practical Wisdom) is divided into three subdivisions, TANHIIB AL AKHLĀQ (Ethics), AL-TA'DBIR AL-MANZILĪ (domestic science), and SIYĀSAT AL-MUDANIYYAH (politics), for human actions are either those which concern the doer only, or those which affect a family, or those which are connected with the members of a city or state.

As to those things which do not lie in the power of a man, knowledge of them is called AL-HIKMAT AL-NAẒARIYYAH, which is further divided into three sub-divisions, 'ILM ILĀHĪ' (higher philosophy or metaphysics), 'ILM AL-RIYĀḌĪ' (mathematics) and 'ILM AL ṬABĪ'Ī' (physics).

But what place is there for logic? Some have defined HIKMAH in such a way that logic is included among its branches, while others regard it as an instrument for the acquirement of knowledge in the same way as a language.

1. 'ILM AL ṬABĪ'Ī' is again divided into eight branches:

- (1) 'ILM AL SAMĀ' AL ṬABĪ'Ī' (Auscultatio Physica);
- (2) 'ILM AL SAMĀ' WAL 'ĀLAM' (De coelo et mundo);
- (3) 'ILM AL KAWN WAL FASĀD' (De generatione et corruptione);
- (4) 'ILM AL FI'L WAL INFI'AL' (De sensu et sensato);

- (5) 'ILM AL ATHAR AL 'ULWIYYAH (Meteorology);
 and (6) 'ILM AL NAFS (Psychology);
 and (7) 'ILM AL NABAT (Botany);
 into (8) 'ILM AL HAYWĀN (Zoology).

AL-HADIYYAH covers the third section of HIKMAT NAZARIYYAH, namely, AL-HIKMAT AL-TABI'ĪYYAH, with all its branches.

It contains an introduction and three sections called FUNŪN. In the Introduction the author discusses those data of physics which as a matter of fact fall within the scope of the higher section of philosophy, viz. metaphysics. What are those data? A physical body and its definition, that is all; in other words, the controversial question of AL JUZ' LĀ YATAJAZZĀ. The author follows the creed of the philosophers and impugns the theory of AL JAWHAR AL FARD.

The first section, divided into several sub-sections, dwells on Auscultatio Physica, i.e. on those properties and accidents, common and inevitable to all bodies, whether heavenly or earthly, as follows:-

(1) Space, which according to some consists of length, breadth and height, and according to others is identified with surface. The author holds the latter view.

He also believes in the impossibility of an absolute vacuum.

(2) HAYYĪZ (place of penetration) which is more general than space.

(3) Shape, due to the very nature of the body.

(4) Motion and rest.

Motion is defined as a gradual shifting from potentiality to actuality. Six things are inevitable for motion: -

(1) A moving body;

(2) A mover;

(3) Space of journey;

(4) A beginning;

(5) An end; and (6) Speed.

is eternal - eternal in this sense "as long as this universe

Motion takes place in four aspects: Space, Form, Quantity, and quality. Motion is of two kinds: ḤĀṬĪ (essential), and ʿĀRIPĪ (accidental), the former being further divided into three varieties:

- (1) ṬAB'İYYAH (Physical), e.g. the falling of a stone from a height;
- (2) QASRIYYAH (compulsory or forced) e.g. the rising of a stone when somebody throws it up;
- (3) İRĀDĪ (intentional), e.g. the movement of animals.

Every body, though resting, has always an inclination to move. This inclination is always resisting any obstacle to its motion. Any body devoid of this inclination cannot be moved, even by a force. Every body has inclination either for HARAKAT MUSTAQĪMAH (lineal motion) or HARAKAT MUSTADĪRAH (circular motion). Heavenly bodies move in a circle.

(5) The fifth property common to all bodies is time. There are several theories about time. The author supports the school of MAṢHAḤĀ'ŪN (peripatetic philosophers, such as Aristotle, etc.) to whom time is a quantity, united and continuous but not resting, and a speed of motion.

There are several theories about AL'ĀN (the present time) also. The author holds that just a point at the centre of a line is a parting limit between two halves, though the point itself is not divided; similarly AL'ĀN is a point indivisible between the past and the future.

(1) The second section, with many sub-sections, deals with the heavenly bodies and so is called AL FALAKIYYĀT. This is the second branch of physics, called AL SAMA WAL 'ĀLAM (De coelo et mundo). AL FALAK is that which determines all directions. It represents the uppermost direction above which there is no upward direction. AL FALAK IS an uncompounded body, that is to say it is not composed of bodies of various nature like the earthly bodies. It is subject to the circular motion and to the lineal. Its circular motion is eternal - eternal in this sense "as long as this universe

exists" - and is intentional and neither physical nor forced.

AL FALAK has two NAFS (mental faculties), one is absolutely free from matter and the other depends upon matter, just as man has two faculties; by one he has the conception of the universal and by the other he conceives the particular.

The third section deals with the atomic or material world (UNGURIYYAT), which topic comprises the rest of the branches of physics. This section is divided into several sub-sections. The first sub-section deals "de generatione et corruptione."

There are four uncompound states of the elements: Heat, Cold, Wetness, Dryness. Every material body must have one or two of them. Heat and cold are active, and wetness and dryness passive. Every element must have only one from each group; and thus there are four elements representing the four simple states:

Fire is hot and dry;

Air is hot and wet;

Water is cold and wet;

Earth is cold and dry.

The author holds that the earth is stationary and not moving, as was supposed by a certain class of ancient philosophers and still is by European thinkers of to-day. He has given many arguments, one or two may be given here to show their nature.

(1) The very nature of the earth requires lineal motion and not circular, and so it will go on moving indefinitely in one way, or, after reaching a certain limit, will have to return. The former case is absurd, on account of the impossibility of infinity of space, while in the latter the earth will have to stop its motion before it changes its direction and the ceasing of the motion cannot be conceived for a body which must move.

(2) The second and other arguments of the author are al-

most of the same nature. Two illustrations will suffice to show the nature of such arguments. If the earth were moving, then a stone thrown straight upward ought not to fall down straight on the same place from which it was thrown; but we find that it does. Similarly, a bird flying towards the west ought to fly faster than another one flying in the opposite direction, if the earth were moving from west to east.

Then the author discusses the interchangeableness and inter-solubility of all these four elements. The equilibrium of the four elements is called the *HIZAJ* (nature or temperament) of the body.

In the next subsection he dwells upon the action of elements upon one another, and upon different theories as to which of the three following is active: matter- shape- or quantity. This is the topic called *De sensu et sensato*.

Then the author discusses *KĀ'INĀT AL JAWW* (things existing in the atmospheric world, i.e. meteorological objects), e.g. smoke, vapour, cloud, rain, hail, snow, thunder, lightning, shooting-stars, rainbow, halo, wind, etc. In these discussions there is nothing that deserves special mention except that he tries in vain to explain the various colours of the rainbow. Some explanations have been given which were not convincing to Ibn Sīnā who refutes them and frankly admits his inability to explain this peculiar phenomenon. How, indeed, could an explanation have been given in an age when the resolution of the white ray of light into various colours had not yet been discovered?

After meteorological discussions, the author takes up mineralogy. Minerals are, in the first place, of two kinds: those which are malleable, e.g. metals, and those which are not malleable, e.g. quartz, sulphur, etc. They are still further subdivided. As to the formation of these minerals he says that they are generally generated by a mixture of mercury and sulphur in different proportions. As to whether silver can be changed into gold, he quotes the opinion of Ibn Sīnā

who says that this possibility was never manifested to him, because the difference in the proportions of the ingredients is unknown. The author, however, does not agree with the final authority on the subject and points out that many sages and thinkers believe in the feasibility of silver being changed into gold.

Next he deals with botany, and describes in detail the various characteristics of vegetables.

Then he turns to zoology. The animal mind has two faculties, stimulating and apprehending; the former being divided into three - nervous stimulus, faculties of appetite and anger; and the latter being classified in two groups - external (the five senses) and internal, which are also five.

Lastly the author discusses psychology and deals with the human mind, which has two faculties - QUWWAT 'AQILAH, also called QUWWAT NAZARIYYAH (the faculty of knowing) and QUWWAT 'AMILAH (the faculty of action).

The author discusses the different theories on NAFS (Mind) and supports the one held generally by the Muslim philosophers, to whom NAFS is an essence, free from matter, neither body nor pertaining to any body, having with the body a connection of control and administration rather than that existing between a whole and its part or between a container and the contained; it is a created thing, surviving the decay of the body, and it conceives the universal as well as the particular. The detailed discussion of this definition of "mind" brings the book to an end.

(11) COMMENTARIES ON INDIAN WORKS: HINDU

One is Mulla Muhammad Jawwad's commentary, entitled AL SHAMS AL HADITHAH, on his own text book, AL HIKMAT AL BALIGHAH mentioned above. First he introduces his text, saying "QULU" and then after a certain length, it is followed

II. BOOKS ON PHILOSOPHY PROPER (B) COMMENTARIES ON
PHILOSOPHICAL BOOKS WRITTEN (1) OUTSIDE INDIA - THREE:
(11) INSIDE INDIA - THREE.

(1) COMMENTARIES ON FOREIGN WORKS : THREE.

As already mentioned, HIDĀYAT AL ḤIKMAH is a well-known book on general philosophy, composed by Shaykh Athīr al-Dīn 'Umar al-Abharī (660). On this text two scholars, one Mulla Husayn b. Mu'īn Maybūdhī and the other Ṣadr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, known as Ṣadr al-Shirāzī (828) wrote commentaries. The commentary of the former is known as MAYBUDHĪ and that of the latter as ṢADRĀ. Both these commentaries are held in great respect and are widely used in India. They have been further commented upon. On the MAYBUDHĪ no less eminent scholar than 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Biyāl-kūtī wrote glosses, while the ṢADRĀ was copiously annotated by Walī Allāh of Lucknow, who was a scholar of a later period, noted for his philosophical writings. He belonged to the Farangi Mahall of Lucknow, which has produced many scholars. He died in 1270. Both these Indian super-commentaries are helpful in elucidating the philosophical subtleties.

The third commentary is that of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Khayrābādī (to whom reference has been made above), on the full HIDĀYAT AL ḤIKMAH itself. The author being rather modern, this work falls out of the scope of the present thesis. It may, however, be said that it is widely read by students of philosophy in India, before they read the standard commentaries such as ṢADRĀ and MAYBUDHĪ.

(11) COMMENTARIES ON INDIAN WORKS : THREE.

One is Mulla Mahmūd Jawnpurī's commentary, entitled AL SHAMS AL BĀZIGHAH, on his own text book, AL ḤIKMAT AL BALIGHAH mentioned above. First he introduces his text, saying "QULTU" and then after a certain length, it is followed

by an explanation, commencing with the word "AQULU". On this full work, that is, the text and the commentary, two learned men of a later period, one Ḥamad Allāh (1160), the well-known commentator on Muḥibb Allāh's *SULLAM AL-'ULŪM*, and the other Nizām al-Dīn (1161), a distinguished scholar, who was the ancestor of the 'Ulamā'ī Farangi Mahall, wrote illuminating glosses, which are much appreciated in India.

III. WORKS ON LOGIC : (A) TEXT-BOOKS : THREE.

1. *AL DURR AL BAHIYYAH*, a small tract written by 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Muḥaddith of Delhi. It deals with the chief problems of logic. It begins with the three kinds of significance:

- (1) *MUTĀBAQAH*, that is to say, literal or of coincidence,
e.g., a man means a rational animal;
- (2) *TADAMMUNĪ*, i.e. partial or of implication,
e.g. "man" may mean a mere animal only;
- (3) *ILTIZĀMĪ*, i.e. associated significance,
e.g. "man" may mean one capable of teaching and instruction.

Then the author deals with "definition", which brings in the topic of genus, species, differentia, etc. Then he dwells on proposition and its kinds, categorical and hypothetical, the parts of a proposition, and then on contradiction, conversion simplex and conversion by contradiction, and lastly on syllogism and the four figures. In short, this small tract treats of all the main principles of Logic.

2. The second in chronological order, but first in order of merit, is the well-known *SULLAM AL 'ULŪM* of Muḥibb Allāh Bihāru, whom we have met several times already. This book occupies the highest position in the ranks of Logic in India. Among works on Logic written outside India hardly any book enjoys such a celebrity and reputation as that of two works: one *AL SHAMSIYYAH* by Najm al-Dīn 'Umar b. 'Alī Al-qaswīnī, known as Al-Katibī (613), and the other

the TAHḤIB AL MANTIḤ by Sa'id al-Dīn Taftāzānī (792).

Both these works have attracted the attention of a large number of scholars who have written commentaries and super-commentaries, glosses and super-glosses on them, but as the Indian work SULLAM AL 'ULŪM is considered to be suitable for advanced students, these two are generally read and studied prior to the SULLAM. The author in his brief preface has expressed a desire that it may shine among the text-books just as the sun does among the stars, and I think his desire has been realised. The author commences his book, as usual with Oriental writers, with HAMD WA ḤALĀT (Divine praise and prayers for the Prophet). The Divine praise has been so skilfully constructed in words technically connected with Arabian logic that it may be quoted here:

that the crocodile does not do so. He then goes on to quote the saying of Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī, an eminent scholar of Persia to whom

reference is made. In India logical studies are supposed to be completed with the study of this text-book and the commentaries upon it. The importance of this book may be further judged from the fact that more than a dozen eminent scholars have regarded it as an honour to write commentaries upon it (vide the JRAS of 1913, p. 296, for a list of the commentators on this work). Some of these commentators will be mentioned later on when commentaries on text-books on logic are being discussed.

The chief characteristic of the book is that it is very brief, like an ideal text-book after Arabian fashion, and yet no problem has been left out. The author has given all the controversial points with their correct solutions. Unless a student already possesses a fair knowledge of logic he cannot understand it, as it is too difficult and too advanced for a beginner.

The book, unlike other works on logic, is not divided into chapters and sub-chapters. After HAMD WA ḤALĀT the

author starts with an introduction which deals with knowledge and its kinds, TAQAWUR and TAQDIQ and the MAWPU' of Logic. After the introduction, the book may be regarded as having been divided into two parts, one dealing with TAQAWUR and the other with TAQDIQ, to which latter he has devoted a much longer space.

It is a great pity that, like all followers of the Arabian system of logic, he deals with Inductive Logic very briefly. He says that induction makes the conclusion probable but not certain. He gives the only example given by nearly all the Muslim theologians, which runs thus:

All animals move their lower jaw while chewing food, because men, horses, cows, etc. do that. This conclusion can never be certain, as there may be an exception, for it is said that the crocodile does not do so. He does not agree with Sayyid Sharif Jurjani, an eminent scholar of Persia to whom reference has been made several times in the preceding pages, when he says that AL IHQA' (examination of all the similar cases) is possible. He, while discussing induction, raises a curious objection. In a certain house, there are three occupants, A, B, and C, two Muslims and one Hindu. If it is not at first recognised which is which, a conclusion may be drawn from the observation of the larger number. Supposing you happen to see first A and B, you may, because two are more than one, come to the conclusion that these two are Muslims and the absent C will necessarily be the Hindu. On another occasion you may happen to see A and C. Then, according to the same method of argument, you may think that these two are the Muslims and the remaining B must be the Hindu. And if on a third occasion you see B and C, you will take them to be the Muslims and the absent A to be the Hindu. This means that you have regarded each of them both as a Muslim and as a Hindu. The solution is that in passing judgment on the basis of observation the largernumber does not provide certainty. When you do not

know for certain which of them is Muslim and which Hindu, each one of them may quite possibly be a Muslim or a Hindu.

The third book on Logic written by an Indian is MIRQĀT by Faql Imām, with whom we have already become acquainted. It is hardly more than a compilation, the material being taken from the AL SHAMSIYYAH and TAHẒĪB AL MANṬIḤ. Upon this work the grandson of the author 'Abd al-Ḥaqq wrote a commentary.

III. WORKS ON LOGIC: (B) COMMENTARIES ON WORKS OF LOGIC:

(1) COMMENTARIES ON FOREIGN WORKS:

(ii) COMMENTARIES ON INDIAN WORKS.

(1) COMMENTARIES ON FOREIGN TEXT-BOOKS.

1. The first book that deserves notice is a commentary entitled BADĪ' AL MĪZĀN, composed by 'Abd Allāh Tulanbī who has already been mentioned as the first scholar to promote the study of philosophy in India, on a treatise entitled MĪZĀN AL-MANṬIḤ. The value of this commentary lies in the fact that it was the first work on philosophy or logic written by an Indian. On this commentary Faql Imām Khayrābādī wrote a super-commentary entitled TABHĪH AL ADHĪHĀN.

I have already introduced two well-known text-books written outside India, one being AL SHAMSIYYAH by Al-Kātibī (693) and the other TAHẒĪB AL MANṬIḤ by Taftāzānī (792). The first was commented upon by Quṭb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (766) and was further commented upon by Sayyid Sharīf Jurjānī (818). The first commentary is known as QUTBĪ and the super-commentary as MĪR QUTBĪ. Quṭb al-Dīn composed a text-book also, known as AL RISALAH FI AL TAQAWWUR WAL TAṢDĪQ. The TAHẒĪB AL MANṬIḤ was commented upon by two scholars, one 'Abd Allāh Yazdī and the other Jalāl al-Dīn Dawwānī.

As already said, more than a dozen scholars wrote commentaries on this book, the following being those

Having described these three foreign books, I now turn to the Indian commentaries and super-commentaries upon them.

On the KIR QUTBI 'Abd al-Hakim al-Siyalkuti wrote further glosses which are full of learned discussions on controversial points of logic.

On Yazdi's commentary on the TAHDIH AL MANTIQ, 'Abd al-Nabi of Ahmadabad (1144) wrote glosses and marginal notes; and upon Dawwani's commentary on the same text-book (i.e. TAHDIH), Mir Zāhid, who has already been noticed, added glosses which are known as AL HĀSHIYAT AL ZĀHIDIYYAT AL JĀLALIYYAH. The merits of these glosses have been fully recognised by Indian scholars of Arabic, inasmuch as a large number of the learned men of succeeding generations have written super-glosses and super-super-glosses on these glosses of Mir Zāhid.

On the aforesaid RIBĀLAT AL TAŞAWWUR WAL TAŞHĪQ by Qutb al-Dīn, the same Mir Zāhid wrote glosses known as AL HĀSHIYAT AL ZĀHIDIYYAT AL QUTBIYYAH. These glosses have also attracted much attention among the students of logic in India and consequently many additions have been made to these glosses in the form of marginal and super-marginal notes upon them. These two sets of Zāhid's glosses are in themselves separate text-books, and hence they too require glosses to explain them. They are full of logical subtleties and complicated discussions and are meant for advanced and serious students of logic. Out of many super-glosses on AL HĀSHIYAT AL QUTBIYYAH those of Ghulām Yahyā Bihāri who died in 1128, deserve mention. These super-glosses have been in their turn, commented upon by the scholars of the succeeding generations.

(11) COMMENTARIES ON INDIAN TEXT-BOOKS ON LOGIC.

Besides the SHARH MIRQĀT, previously referred to, various commentaries by various scholars on the SULLĀM AL-ULUM deserves mention. As already said, more than a dozen scholars wrote commentaries on this book, the following being those

most widely used:-

1. The Commentary known as **ḤAMD ALLAH**, after its author Ḥamd Allah of Sandiloh (1160)
2. The Commentary known as **QĀDĪ MUBARAK**, after its author, qāḍī Mubarak of Gopāma'ū (1162)

N.B. The first commentary is noted for the portion relating to **TAQDĪ** (Judgment), while the second is appreciated for the section of **TAQAFUUR** (Conception).

3. The Commentary known as **MULLĀ ḤASAN**, after its author Mullā Hasan b. Ghulām Mustafā (1198)

4. The Commentary entitled **MIR'ĀT AL SHURUH**, composed by Mullā Muḥammad Mubīn (1225).

All these commentaries, especially those of Ḥamd Allah and qāḍī Mubarak, are highly esteemed in India and some scholars have further written glosses on these commentaries.

days of their intellectual activity and scientific research had passed away. To say nothing of original work, they should not even write commentaries, as they did in the case of other branches of learning. These Arabic-speaking countries and those countries lying close to them did not contribute much to the mathematical branches of Arabic literature, it is not to be expected that India, the Arabic product of which is of a much later date than that of the other countries, would produce any Arabic work of importance or originality on mathematics. But just as Persia might reasonably be proud of producing in later periods a few mathematical works of high repute, such as Mullā al-Muḥammad b. Mas'ūm al-Āmilī (1631) etc., similarly India may be given the credit of being the home of a few equally good mathematicians, such as 'Ismat Allāh b. 'Aqmat Allāh ḥakīmshāhī (1686), Muḥammad Allāh al-Mutakhalḥī b. al-Muḥammad b. Uṭṭā al-Muḥammadī and his son Imām al-Muḥammadī.

CHAPTER VIII.

LITERATURE ON MATHEMATICS, ASTROLOGY AND MEDICINE

Since India has not contributed much to the mathematical, astrological and medical branches of Arabic literature, I propose to deal with them briefly in one place, here.

The contribution of India to the above-mentioned departments of Arabic literature during the Pre-Ghaznawid period has already been referred to, so that here only the literature of later periods will require consideration.

I. CONTRIBUTIONS TO MATHEMATICS.

Mathematics is one of those sciences which received less and less attention from Muslim scholars after the golden days of their intellectual activity and scientific research had passed away. To say nothing of original work, they could not even write commentaries, as they did in the case of other branches of learning. When Arabic-speaking countries and those countries lying close to them did not contribute much to the mathematical branches of Arabic literature, it is not to be expected that India, the Arabic product of which is of a much later date than that of the other countries, would produce any Arabic work of importance or originality on mathematics. But just as Persia might reasonably be proud of producing in later periods a few mathematicians of high repute, such as Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Muḥsin al-ʿAmilī (1031) etc. similarly India may be given the credit of being the home of a few equally good mathematicians, such as ʿIsmat Allāh b. ʿAḥmad Allāh Bahārānpūrī (1086), Luṭf Allāh al-Mutakhallīḡ bī al-Muḥandīs b. Ustād Aḥmad al-Mi'mār and his son Imām al-Dīn.

Bahā' al-Dīn's KHULĀṢAT AL-ḤISĀB is an important work on arithmetic. Its importance may be judged from the fact that several authors have written commentaries and super-commentaries upon it in Arabic as well as in Persian, and that Professor Nesselmann has edited and Aristide Marre de Marin has translated it into French. The first author who wrote a copious commentary on it is one of the Indian mathematicians just mentioned. 'Ismat Allāh was an eminent mathematician of his age. His commentary entitled ANWĀR KHULĀṢAT AL-ḤISĀB on the above-mentioned KHULĀṢAT AL-ḤISĀB is a learned work in which the author has creditably displayed his mathematical talents. The original author and the commentator belong almost to the same period and died at an interval of fifty-five years only.

The commentator commences his commentary with a brief introduction in which he emphasises the importance of arithmetic, and then records his appreciation of the KHULĀṢAT.

While commenting upon the definition of arithmetic in the text, he discusses at length the meaning of Riyāḍī and the reason why it is so named. He states that Riyāḍī has been so called because of the training it gives the mind.

"The ancient philosophers," says he, "used to give preference to it over the rest of the sciences including even logic."

Then he discusses whether number, with or without a relation to objects, is the subject matter of arithmetic. He quotes

Abū 'Alī Sīnā's authority as saying that an arithmetician deals with abstract number without reference to any subject.

The commentator criticises this statement and asserts that absolute number does not form the subject-matter of this science.

The original author's definition of number as being a quantity that can be applied to a unit and to a combination of units, is incomplete in the opinion of the commentator, as he thinks that this definition does not include fractions

He therefore suggests that the correct definition of number will be: "a quantity applicable to one and to a fraction or multiplication of one."

It is curious to see that though numerals are so closely associated with arithmetic, yet they have been very sparingly used throughout the text as well as in the commentary.

The commentator, while commenting upon the anecdotes given by the original author, has in places added some more short stories. For instance, the text narrates that 'Alī the fourth rightly directed Caliph, being once asked the lowest common measure of numbers from one to nine, said, "Multiply the days of the year by the days of the week," that is to say, 360 multiplied by 7 is equal to 2520. Commenting on this story, the commentator gives three more stories, all relating to 'Alī, to show how well-versed he was in arithmetic. One of these may not be out of place here. Once upon a time 'Alī, when he was just putting his foot in the stirrup of his saddle, was approached by a woman who complained that a great wrong had been done her, in that she had been given only one out of six hundred dīnārs left by her brother. 'Alī at once remarked that perhaps her brother had left behind him besides herself a wife, parents, two daughters and twelve brothers. "Yes," said she, whereupon 'Alī rejoined that in that case she had received her due.

These stories, if true, really go to show the extraordinary arithmetical talent of 'Alī. But actually these calculations must have been worked out by some expert and in order to prove the arithmetical skill of the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law, they have been, by way of "pious falsehood" ascribed to him.

This commentary is very illuminating and useful and establishes the mathematical talents of the author. All the difficult passages and complicated problems in the text are fully explained.

On the KHULĀṢAT, Luṭf Allāh, poetically named al-Muhandis, b. Ustād Aḥmad the architect, also wrote a brief commentary to which his son Imām al-Dīn added glosses. This Luṭf Allāh translated the text into Persian also. All these works were consulted by Rawshan 'Alī when he again translated the text into Persian, with explanatory notes, as late as 1812 A.D. Dr. Nesselmann who edited the text, says in his introduction that he was unable to trace any of the commentaries consulted by Rawshan 'Alī. But at that time the catalogues of the British Museum and the India Office Library had not been published.

It may not be out of place to mention that Luṭf Allāh, his father Ustād Aḥmad the architect, his brother 'Aṭā' Allāh and his son Imām al-Dīn, were all of them scholars noted for their high mathematical attainments. 'Aṭā' Allāh composed a treatise in verse on Arithmetic, mensuration and algebra. Luṭf Allāh, besides his already-mentioned Arabic commentary on, and Persian translation of, the KHULĀṢAT AL ḤISĀB, wrote other books on mathematics, but in Persian, not in Arabic.

II. CONTRIBUTIONS TO ASTRONOMY.

On astronomy, two text-books are widely known: one is AL MULAḤKHAṢ FI 'L HAY'AT AL BASĪṬAH by Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Chaghwaīnī al-Khwārizmī, which work is known as CHAGHMĪNĪ; and the other is TASHRĪḤ AL AFLĀK by Bahā' al-Dīn, the author of the KHULĀṢAT AL ḤISĀB. On the CHAGHMĪNĪ, Mūsā b. Maḥmūd qādī-Zādah composed a commentary which is generally known as SHARḤ-I-CHAGHMĪNĪ.

One Indian mathematician, Imām al-Dīn b. Luṭf Allāh, wrote a super-commentary on the SHARḤ-I-CHAGHMĪNĪ and a commentary, entitled AL TAṢRĪḤ AL AFLĀK of Bahā' al-Dīn. In the latter the commentator has embodied some materials from Indian astronomy also, which are quite new to Arabian astronomy. One such addition is what is known in astronomy as AL DA'IRAT AL HINDIYYAH (The Indian circle) which is used for

the determination of the midday etc. Both these commentaries occupy a high place in the curriculum of astronomical studies in India.

Perhaps the greatest and most important contribution of India to the mathematical or astrological branch of Arabic literature during the post-Ghaznawid period is the KITĀB AL MAQĀ'IS, an Arabic translation made by Mu'tamad Khan Rustam b. Diyānat Khan Qubād Ḥārithī from Clavius' *Gnomonices libri octo* (published at Rome in 1581). The India Office Library contains a manuscript of it, which is, as stated by the son of the translator, the rough copy (but neatly and clearly written) of Mu'tamad Khan. It is a voluminous work in 427 folios, with thirty-three lines on a page. The British Museum has only a small fragment of it. (Cat. Bri.Mus. 443). No other MS of the work can be traced as existing in any Indian library, or outside India elsewhere, as far as the available catalogues can be relied upon.

Mu'tamad Khan Rustam, who flourished in the reign of Awrangzib in a position of some importance, was a great friend of learning and of books. Several manuscripts copied for him are to be found in the British Museum, on the title of each of which it is written in his own hand that it was copied for him and for his son, and that in places he corrected them. The names of two such MSS are AL NUH AL SĀFIR (Add. 16648) and AL KAWĀKIB AL SĀ'IRAH (Add. 16647). The writer of the present thesis has failed to discover how the translator managed to translate this technical work from an entirely foreign language. On the margin of the title-page of the MS, there is this note written by Mr. Johnson that the translator went to Portugal where he translated the work. From what source Mr. Johnson obtained this information, I have been unable to discover. Anyhow, this work deserves close study by those who are interested in this branch of learning.

III. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE ARABIC LITERATURE ON MEDICINE.

This contribution falls under two heads: one commentaries and super-commentaries, and the other text-books (i.e. original compositions). Under the first heading there are eight works that arrest our attention.

One of the most important Arabic works on the science of medicine is AL QĀNŪN by Abu 'Alī Sīnā. On this medical encyclopaedia several scholars have written commentaries, of whom three are Indian. One is Ḥakīm 'Alī Jilānī (1017) who was a physician attached to the court of Akbar. He was a learned scholar, excelled his contemporaries in mathematics and medicine, and was admired for his wonderful cures. Recognising his excellent talents, Akbar conferred upon him the rank of 700 and the title of Jālīnūs-i-Zamān (Galen of the time). In the thirty-ninth year of Akbar's reign he constructed the famous reservoir through which lay the passage to a small room, the door of which was always open but water did not enter the room. When completed, the Emperor went to see it. He himself plunged into the water and entered the room, which he found well furnished. He remained in the room for some time, to the anxiety of his attendants outside the reservoir, who were greatly relieved when he came out again safely. In 1017 Jahāngīr also visited the reservoir and saw the room, whereupon he promoted the skilful constructor to the rank of 2000.⁽¹⁾ If the description of the reservoir given by Jahāngīr himself in his Fuzuk and by 'Abd al-Razzāq in the Ma'āthir al-Umārā' is correct, one has to admit that the constructor was really a genius. His commentary on AL-QĀNŪN is the largest of its kind and in point of authority comes next to that of Al-Qarshī.

The next commentary on the qānūn is entitled GHĀYĀT AL FUḤŪM FĪ TADBĪR AL MAḤMŪM, by Ishāq Khān b. Ismā'īl Khān of Delhi, an Indian physician of the 12th century of the Hijra.

(1) Ma'āthir al-Umārā' I, 568.

This commentary is confined to that portion of the QĀNŪN which treats of fevers (i.e. Fann I of Book IV). The Bānkīpā: Catalogue IV, p. 59, contains the following account.

"In the preface the author states that in this he proposes to discuss the prognosis and critical days of fevers, along with their treatment. To accomplish this purpose, he consulted al-Qarshī's commentary on the QĀNŪN, which, though it contains useful comments, is yet full of futile attacks on Avicenna. He therefore referred to Al-Jīlānī's commentary which, according to him, contains successful refutations of al-Qarshī's hostile criticisms, but the practical portion is commented upon at such length that it becomes too voluminous to be of general utility. This work, he says, is an abridgment of al-Jīlānī's long comments, to serve as an introduction to that encyclopaedia."

The third Indian commentary on the QĀNŪN is SHARḤ KULLIYYĀT AL QĀNŪN by Ḥakīm Shifā'ī Khān b. Ḥakīm 'Abd al-Shafī Khān Masīḥ al-Mulk, an Indian physician who flourished in the reign of Āḡaf al Dawlah of Oudh (1188-1212) and after the death of that monarch served Sa'ādat 'Alā Khān (1212-1229).

Besides the QĀNŪN, two other medical books, one Burhān al-Dīn Ḥafīs 'Iwāḡ al-Kirmānī's commentary, known as AL ḤAFĪSĪ on 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Abū al-Ḥasam al-Qarshī (d. 678)'s abridgment, entitled AL MŪJIZ, of the QĀNŪN, and the other Ḥafīs b. 'Iwāḡ Kirmānī's commentary on Najīb al-Dīn Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Samarqandī's well-known work entitled AL ASBĀB WA'L 'ALĀMĀT, have attracted the attention of several Indian scholars and physicians who have written marginal glosses upon them. The former, i.e. AL ḤAFĪSĪ has been further commented upon by Ḥakīm A'āḡib b. Ma'ālīj Khān, an Indian physician of the twelfth century of the Hījra, and by Ḥakīm Sharīf Khān of Delhi, a physician of Persian extraction, who settled in India and vied with the 'Alāwī Khān, the celebrated physician of Muḥammad Shāh in reputation as a successful medical practitioner and Arabic scholar.

Of the glosses on the *SHARH AL ABRAR WA'L 'ALAHAT*, two deserve mention: one is *KASHF AL IHBKĀLĀT* by Muḥammad Ḥashim b. Ḥakīm Muḥammad Aḥsan b. Muḥammad Afḡal, who received his education in mathematics and medicine from Ḥakīm 'Alī al-Jilānī and was appointed by Shāhjahān as a teacher to Aurangzīb; and the other is *AL FANĀ'ID AL SHARĪFIYYAH*, by Muḥammad Sharīf Khān, mentioned above.

Under the second heading there are four books worthy of notice:

1. *AL JUZ'AL 'AMALĪ MIN AḤMĀL AL ṢANĀ'AH* by Ḥakīm Kāsim, son of the Shi'ah Mujtahid named Ḥaydar 'Alī al Najafī, an Indian physician (1149) who was given the title of *Ḥadhiq al Mulk*. This work is divided into an introduction (on evil or fatal symptoms), seven Maqālahs (on symptoms and treatments of local and general diseases) and a *Khātinah* (on weights and measures used in medicine). This work is noticed in the *KASHF AL HJAB WA'L ASFĀR* under the title of *JĀMI' AL ṢANĀ'I'*, which seems to be incorrect. (Vide Bānkīpūr Catalogue, IV, 84).

2. *ABRĀR AL 'ILĀJ* by Ḥakīm 'Alī Sharīf of Lucknow, who received the title of *Ha'īs al Aṭibbā'* from Ghāzi al-Dīn Ḥaydar of Lucknow. The value of this work may be judged from the following remark of a learned physician who compiled the Bānkīpūr Catalogue IV.:-

"The author throughout this treatise shows rare powers of criticism and original investigation such as are not generally to be met with in other eastern writers. This work strikingly depicts the methods of case-taking (i.e. diagnosis) the mode of reasoning and the way of investigation peculiar to the Indian physicians of the 12th and 13th centuries of the Hijra."

3. *HILYAT AL WĀṢIFĪN WA WISHĀH AL ṬALIBĪN* by Muḥammad Mahdī b. 'Alī Aḡghar b. Nūr Muḥammad Khān, Prime Minister of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ḥaydar, king of Oudh and pupil of 'Alī Sharīf Khān, mentioned above.

4. The QARĀBĀDĪN 'ALAWĪ KHĀN by Mu'tamad al-Mulūk Ḥakīm Muḥammad Ḥashim b. Ḥakīm Muḥammad Ḥādī, known as 'Alawī Khān, the celebrated physician of the Mughal courts from the reign of Awrangzīb down to Muḥammad Shāh's time, when he was taken by Nādir Shāh to his capital but allowed soon to return to Delhi, where he died in 1749. The compiler of the Bānkīpūr Catalogue IV remarks that this work reveals critical observation, originality and insight on the part of the author, and is a monumental representation of the mode of criticism, observation and adaptation practised by the Indian physicians.⁽¹⁾

At the conclusion of this brief description of some of the Indian Arabic medical works, it may be added that Indian scholars of Arabic medicine were not simply commentators and glossary writers. They have made new researches also, and have recorded the results in works such as the qarābādīn of 'Alawī Khān, etc., of which the compiler of the Bānkīpūr catalogue, well-versed in Arabian medicine, speaks in high terms. Professor Benison Ross is right in remarking that "they (Indian physicians) have done so much for the adaptation of the ancient system of medicine to their own surroundings and requirements."⁽²⁾

Under the present heading there are fourteen works which may deserve mention. They may be arranged under the following heads:-

I.	Pure History	...	...	...	4 works.
II.	Chronology	...	...	...	1 "

(1) Bānkīpūr Catalogue, IV, 106.

(2) Ibid, Preface.

Total 14 works.

CHAPTER IX.HISTORICAL LITERATURE

Arabic historical literature is so extensive and important that the producers of it may reasonably be proud. It is a production of several countries and not of Arabia alone. But we are here concerned with India only, and propose to examine under the present heading what she has contributed to this branch of Arabic literature.

As most works on history by Indian scholars are in Persian, those written in Arabic are few and exceptional, whereas in Persian Elliot has been able to give the titles of more than two hundred historical works in this language, excluding biographies of poets, scholars and saints. Owing to the predominance of Arabic in the early centuries of Islam, religious, philosophical and scientific works were generally written in this language, even in Persia, Turkistān and Afghānistān; but it never achieved any success in those countries against Persian in the departments of poetry, light literature and history. Still less was this the case in India.

Under the present heading there are fourteen works which may deserve mention. They may be arranged under the following heads:-

I.	Pure History	...	...	...	...	4 works.
II.	Chronology	...	...	...	...	1 "
III.	Lives of the Prophet	...	...	...	...	3 "
IV.	Other Biographies	...	...	...	...	5 "
V.	Travel	...	...	...	...	1 "

Total 14 works.

1. PURE HISTORY : FOUR WORKS.

1. **TUHFAT AL MUJĀHIDĪN**, by Shaykh Zayn al-Dīn b. 'Abd al-'Azīs al-Na'barī, whom we have met already in connection with his book, **QURRAT AL 'AYN**, on Fiqh. This book is a historical account of the doings and proceedings of the Portuguese in Malabar from the time of their first appearance in that country in the year 904 A.H. up to the year 989. The whole book is divided into four sections.

The first section deals with the Islamic injunctions regarding holy war. The second dwells upon the first appearance and dissemination of Islām in Malabar. The third is confined to a short account of the singular usages and customs of the infidels of the country, and the last section, forming the main part of the book, to which the first three divisions may be taken as an introduction, is further divided into fourteen sub-sections, called Yaḡl.

The value of this work may be judged from the fact that it was translated into English by Lieutenant Rowlandson as early as the year 1833, that is to say, a little less than a century back, and afterwards edited and rendered into Portuguese by David Lopes in 1898. As to the accuracy of this historical narration, it is sufficient to quote Lieutenant Rowlandson's remark upon it: He says :- "It is creditable to the author that the testimony of the western authors establishes the fidelity of his narrative, since besides a very minute and extra ordinary agreement on many minor points of detail, in the relation of leading events, it is seldom found much at variance with their accounts." Moreover, the author of the **TUHFAT AL MUJĀHIDĪN** has exercised his power of criticism and judgment in accepting traditions. For instance, while giving an account of the first appearance of Islām in the country of Malabar, he has rejected the tradition current among his Muslim countrymen, according to which the king of Malabar, having been impressed by the miracle of the splitting

of the moon, went to the Prophet himself and embraced Islām.

In addition to Zayn al-Dīn's narration of the struggles of the Zamorin of Calicut with the Portuguese, there is another account of the same by Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Kālī-kūtī, who composed five hundred and three couplets on the subject, under the title of **AL FATH AL MUBĪN LI'L SĀMIRĪ ALLAHĪ YUḤIBB AL MUḤLIMĪN** (i.e. the conspicuous victory of Zamorin who loves the Muslims). This work will be further considered under the heading "Contribution of India to the Poetical Branch of Arabic Literature." Here it may be added that a comparison of these two works encourages belief in their trustworthiness.

2. **AL 'ILĀM BI A'LĀM BAYT ALLĀH AL HARĀM** by Quṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alā' al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Mahrwālī. The father of the author left his native place for the Ḥijāz and settled at Makkah, where Quṭb al-Dīn was born in 917. After completing his education at Makkah, he went to Egypt in 943 where he pursued his studies further with the eminent scholars of that place. He soon attracted notice as a learned scholar. Later on he was employed as a professor of theology at a college in Makkah, and was finally appointed a muftī there. He died in 990. The present work is a comprehensive history of Makkah. It consists of an introduction, ten chapters, and an appendix. In the introduction the author enumerates his sources. He says that the oldest historian of Makkah is Abū 'l-Walīd Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Arṣaqī. The following list of the contents will show the value of the book:-

- | | |
|------------|---|
| Chapter I. | A Geographical account of Makkah and Ka'bah. |
| " II. | An account of the foundation and construction of the Ka'bah. |
| " III. | A Description of the Al-Kaṣjid al-Harām during the period of Ignorance and the early days of Islam. |
| " IV. | An Account of what was added to the Kaṣjid by the 'Abbasids. |

- Chapter V. A special mention of the two additions made after the alteration initiated by Mansūr and completed by his son Hādī, during the later period of the 'Abbasids.
- " VI. An Account of the repairs done by the Jrakishah.
 - " VII. An Account of the Masjid during the early 'Uthmanid period.
 - " VIII. An Account of the Masjid during the reign of Salīm I.
 - " IX. An Account of the Masjid during the reign of Salīm II.
 - " X. An Account of the Masjid during the reign of Salṭān Murad.
- Appendix known An Account of the sacred places of interest at Makkah.

In order to do full justice to the history of the Ka'bah, the author has given in outline the whole history of the Muslims from the time of the Prophet right down to his own days.

The importance of this work has been duly recognised by Western scholars, having been edited with earlier works of the same nature, by Wüstenfeld. But as the author, although of Indian blood, was born, bred and educated outside India, it is doubtful whether his work can claim to be placed with the contributions of India to Arabic literature. In reply, it may be urged that it is within the scope of the present thesis to include the works of those scholars of Indian blood also who were born and flourished outside India.

3. AL BARQ AL YAMĀNĪ FI 'L FATH AL 'UTHMĀNĪ, by the same author. This is a historical account of the events that took place in Yaman during the time of the author (i.e. from the beginning of the tenth century to 978). It consists of three Bābs and a Khātimah. The first Bāb, divided into 13 Faḡl, deals with the history of the kings of Yaman from the beginning of the tenth century up to the time when she was conquered by the 'Uthmānī Turks. The second Bāb (in 37 Faḡl) contains the history of the country from the time of its

annexation by the 'Uthmānī Turks up to the reign of Sulaymān; the third (in 60 Faḡl) dwells on the history of the events that took place in Yaman during the reign of Sulṭān Salīm; and the Khatimah (in 5 Faḡl) contains the account of the return of Sinān Pāshā to Egypt and of his conquest of Tūnis and Golette.

4. A History of Gujarāt, entitled ẒAFAR AL WALIH BI MUẒAFFAR WA ALIH, composed in the first decades of the 17th century by 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Nahrwālī al-Āsāfī, better known as Hājji Dabīr, who flourished in the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century of the Hijra. The author was born in Makkah cirous 946. He first went to India when a boy of sixteen years in 962, and three years later entered the service of Muḥammad Ulugh Khān, who was serving 'Imād al-Mulk. In 980 when Akbar entered Aḥmadābād, Ulugh Khān became a prisoner and our author was left without employment. In the following year he was appointed to carry the Waqf money from Gujarāt to Makkah and Madīnah. In 983 he was back in India and in the service of Sayf al-Mulk, and later on in that of Fawlād Khān. The exact date of his death is not known, but he is known to have lived up to 1020.

This work is divided into two parts, called Daftar. The first Daftar deals with the history of the Muḡaffarid kings of Gujarāt, who ruled from 799 to 980 A.H. (1396-1572, A.D.), and also of the rulers of Khāndīsh and Deccan; and the second Daftar contains the general history of all the various dynasties that ruled over Northern India from the 12th century to the sixteenth century, A.D. It has been edited by the eminent orientalist, Professor Denison Ross, who was the first man to realise the value of the work. This edition consists of three volumes, each with a scholarly introduction. "It will be seen," remarks the learned editor, "that this work is much more than a mere chronicle of the kings and that a larger portion of the (first) volume is

devoted to digressions, historical, biographical and bibliographical, which carry the reader back to the early history of Islām on the one hand and forward to the beginning of the 17th century on the other." In another place Sir Denison Ross makes the following observation:-

"Although he was of Indo-Persian origin, his ancestors having fled from Persia to India at the time of the Tātār invasion in the 13th century, his native language was Arabic and he tells us that he only learnt Persian some time after his arrival in India. These circumstances have a double bearing on the value of this work: first in respect of the style of the Arabic which, though often careless, is evidently the language of a man born and bred in Mecca; and secondly in respect of Indian and Persian proper names, which our author as a foreigner takes great care to spell correctly and in many cases to explain."

II. CHRONOLOGY : ONE WORK.

There is one book that deserves notice under the present heading. It is *AL NŪR AL SĀFIR 'AN AKHBĀR AL QARN AL 'ĀSHIR*, written by Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir al-'Aydārūs of Ahmad-ābād. He was a member of the noble family of 'Aydārūs of Yaman. His father went to India in 958 and settled in Ahmad-ābād, where our author was born in 978, his mother being an Indian slave-girl, presented to his father by some of his disciples. He received his education from eminent scholars both of Yaman and India. He was a distinguished ṣūfī, an eminent scholar, and a prolific writer. He has left about a score of works. This work is, as indicated by its very title, a chronology of the events of the tenth century of the Hījra. Similar works of early writers, e.g. *AL DURR AL KĀMINAH FI 'L QARN AL THĀMINAH* by Ibn Ḥajar and *AL DAW' AL LĀMI' FI 'L QARN AL TĀSI'* by Al-Sakhāwī, are well known. The present work is a continuation of the same scheme, with

a slight difference in the plan and scope. Both the early works just mentioned are confined to short biographical notes on secular and religious worthies who died in the eighth and ninth centuries respectively, these names being arranged in alphabetical and not in chronological order, while the work under consideration deals chronologically not only with the biographical accounts of men of rank and letters but with political and social events as well. In short, this work is a valuable member of that very useful biographical series of which *AL NURR AL KAHINAH* and *AL DAW' AL LAMI'* form the earlier volumes, while later works such as *KHUALĀṢAT AL-ĀTHĀR*, *SILK AL DURAR* and *'AJA'IB AL ĀTHĀR* are succeeding links. It may also be mentioned here that besides *AL NUR AL SĀFIR* several works of the same type relating more or less to the same period have been written by different authors, of which works *AL KAWĀKIB AL ḤĀ'IRAH BI MAHĀQIB A'YĀN AL 'ASHIRAH* is worthy of notice.

As this work has not yet been published, a rather full account of the book may not be out of place here.

The author tells us in his preface that he has mentioned in this work the dates of all these scholars, saints, qāḍīs, kings and grandees, whether of Egypt, Syria, Hijāz, Yaman, Rūm or India, and has added accounts of some events and curious stories and witticisms. He admits that he could not mention all the events that took place in this century, owing to his ignorance of them. Being conscious of the fact that he has omitted much more than he has recorded, he says, by way of apology for the composition of such an incomplete work, that what cannot be fully mentioned should not be left altogether untouched.

To the main chronology he has, by way of invoking divine blessings, prefixed a short biographical account of the Prophet. Then he starts his chronology from the year 901 and concludes it in the year 1000. He has given biographical notes on a large number of scholars of whom the following may be mentioned

here:-

1. Al-Bakhāwī, author of the well-known but very rare work, AL DAW' AL LĀMI', who died in 902.
2. The celebrated Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūfī who died in 911.
3. Shaykh b. 'Abd Allāh, great-grandfather of the author, (died in 919).
4. Ibn Suwayda', an eminent Muhaddith of his age, who attached himself to the court of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Shāh of Gujarāt, who conferred upon him the title of Malik al-Muhaddithīn. He died in 919.
5. Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Qasṭalānī, author of the famous encyclopaediacal biography of the Prophet entitled AL MAWĀHIB AL LAḌUNHIYYAH, who died in 923. In the note on this scholar, the author relates that Suyūfī and Qasṭalānī were not on good terms with one another, as the former had this grievance against the latter that Qasṭalānī used to quote from his work without giving any reference to his name. When Suyūfī was on his death-bed, Qasṭalānī went to him and knocked at his door, whereupon he asked who the intruder might be. Qasṭalānī told who he was, and added that he had gone to see him bare-footed and bare-headed in order to be reconciled to him. The dying scholar answered that he had been reconciled, but did not open the door.
6. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī, an eminent scholar of his age whom the author mistakenly states to have died in 928, whereas he passed away twenty years earlier.
7. Muḥajjad, author of the well-known book on the Shāfi'ī Fiqh, entitled AL 'URĀB.
8. Baḥraq al-Ḥaḍramī, a learned man and poet who went to India and joined the court of Sulṭān Muḥaffar of Gujarāt for whom he wrote a biography of the Prophet under the title of TABṢIRAT AL ḤAḌRAT AL SHĀHIYYAT AL AḤMADIYYAH BI SĪRAT AL ḤAḌRAT AL NABAWIYYAT AL AḤMADIYYAH.

9. Ibn al-Hajar al-Haythamī, author of *SHARH AL-MISHKAT* etc., died in 974.
10. 'Alī Muttaqī, an Indian scholar of name and fame, who died in 975.
11. Under the year 978, in which the author was born, he gives a detailed account of his birth, education and works. He frankly admits that his mother was an Indian slave-girl who bore no other child save himself.
12. Muḥammad b. Tāhir, who rightly held the title of "the king of the Indian traditionists." He died in 986.
13. 'Abd al-Nabī, an eminent scholar of the court of Akbar, who was afterwards condemned by the Emperor. He died in 990.
14. Quṭb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī, noticed already. He was a good poet also. Five long poems of his are given in this book.
15. Ḥakīm Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Shams al-Dīn Sindī who was attached to the royal court of Gujarāt. The author relates here a curious story. A certain king sent Sulṭān Maḥmūd some valuable presents, one of which was a beautiful girl, whom Sulṭān Maḥmūd bestowed on one of his ministers. Before the minister touched the girl, the physician happened to feel her pulse. He at once announced that the girl had been fed and bred in such a poisonous way that whosoever had intercourse with her was sure to die. Presently an experiment was made, and, to the bewilderment of present, the statement was proved correct. Being asked the reason for this phenomenon, the physician explained that her mother, whilst pregnant, had been fed on poisonous herbs.

So much for the more important of those learned and literary persons whom our author has mentioned in his chronology. As for the kings and worldly dignitaries noticed in the same, the following names are worthy of note:-

1. Qā'it-Bay, king of Egypt, who died in 901.
2. Mahmūd b. Muḥammad, king of Gujarāt who died in 916.
3. Muḥaffar Shāh II (d. 932), " "
4. Bahādur Shāh (943). " "
5. Mahmūd Shāh II (961) " " etc.
6. Aḥmad Shāh II (967) " " etc.
7. Khudāwand Khān (968)
8. Quṭb Shāh Sulṭān of Golkandah (990).

As to the political events mentioned in the book, the following items may be given here:-

1. Hāmāyūn's attack upon Gujarāt and how Bahādur Shāh was defeated through the treachery of Muṣṭafā Bahrām.
2. Āḡaf Khān's return from Makkah and his filling the post of Wizārat until he and his master were both killed in 961.
3. The capture of Diu by the Portuguese in 961.
4. Akbar's conquest of Gujarāt in 980. About Akbar the author says that he was a just king but at the same time inclined towards the heretics; he then remarks WA FI AL ISHĀRAH MĀ YUGHNĪ 'AN AL KALĀM, that is "a hint is enough and no more need be said."
5. An account of Aḥmadābād and of its founder.
6. Muḥaffar b. Mahmūd's recapture of Aḥmadābād, Barwaj and Barodah, after he had defeated the Mughal army in 991, and his loss of them the following year.

Besides the biographical notices and the brief accounts of certain political events, we find interesting digressions as well, of which the following are worthy of mention:-

1. Geographical and historical accounts of Ḥaḡramawt, Aḥqaf Sabā, Iran ḥāt al 'Isād, the grave of ḡalīb the prophet the grave of Hūd, etc.
2. A discussion on the possibility of miracles.
3. An account of the occurrences of earthquake and fire at Aden in 914.

4. A Discourse on Coffee.

As the author, being himself a poet, took much interest in poetry, we find that his book contains many beautiful extracts from the poetry of those scholars and poets whom he has mentioned. Moreover, being in constant touch with Southern Arabia, he has said much about the political affairs of Aden, Ḥaḡramawt and Yaman.

As regards the accuracy of the dates, it may be said that it is difficult to question it except in one place, where he is obviously wrong. He mentions Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawwānī as having died in 923, while the correct date of his death is 908. In two or three places I have noticed that dates given by him slightly differ from those given by Lane-Poole in his *Muḥammadan Dynasties*. For instance, Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, king of Gujarāt, died in 916 according to our author, while Lane-Poole puts this even one year later. The year of Ahmad Shāh's death, according to the *AL NŪR AL SĀFIR*, is 967, while according to Lane-Poole it is 969. (1)

It may be noted that a scholar named Al-Sayyid Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr al-Shillī (d. 1093) wrote a supplement to this work under the title of *AL SAHĀ' AL BĀHIR BI TAKWĪL AL NŪR AL SĀFIR*. Al-Shillī does not question the accuracy of *AL NŪR AL SĀFIR*, and regards it as a useful and valuable work. The necessity for writing a supplement, as he himself says, arose from the author of the original book having omitted many noteworthy persons.

As regards the style and Arabic of the book, one may safely say that it is lucid, simple and straightforward. The work was completed on Friday the 12th of Rabī' al-Thānī, 1012.

(1) Firsihtah and E. de Zambaur give the same dates as Lane-Poole. But according to Ḥaqqī Dabir, Muḥammad Shāh was killed in 967 as stated in *AL-NŪR AL-SĀFIR* and not in 969 (vide *ẒAFAR AL-WĀLIH BI MUẒAFFAR Wa Alih Vol. II, 478*)

This brief account may be concluded with this remark that AL NUR AL SĀFIR is a useful chronological work and deserves to be edited on western scientific lines. AL HURR AL KĀMINAH, the first link in this biographical series, is being edited by Mr. Krenkow. The MSS of AL PAW' AL LĀHĪ are very rare and defective. Then comes this work with its supplement AL SĀNĀ' AL BĀHIR; and the succeeding links have already been published.

III. BIOGRAPHIES OF THE PROPHET : TWO WORKS.

1. IṬḤĀF AL ḤAḌRAT AL 'AZĪZAH LI 'UYŪN AL SĪRAT AL WAJĪZAH, by Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir, the author of AL NUR AL SĀFIR. There is nothing special about this work, except that the narration is lucid, concise, and almost free from unhistorical statements such as are generally found in works written by Sūfīs and mystic writers. This work consists of two parts and an appendix. The first part deals with the biography of the Prophet in four chapters. The second part, divided into ten chapters, contains the short biographies of those ten Companions of the Prophet who were assured by him that they would enter paradise. The Khātimah deals with the merits and excellences of the Companions of the Prophet.

2. The other Arabic biography written in India, worthy of notice, is AL SĪRAT AL MUḤAMMADIYYAH composed by Karāmat 'Alī b. Faḡīl Muḥammad Ḥayāt 'Alī. It is a voluminous work containing six hundred closely lithographed pages of 15 inch size, with 35 lines in each page, and was composed shortly before the Mutiny. It was written under the royal patronage of the Nizām of Ḥaydarābād, to whom it was dedicated. It is not a mere compilation. The author has taken pains in examining and weighing all the traditions and events recorded. It cannot be called a critical work, according to the modern standard of investigation, but at the same time it does not

contain those Ḥadīth which are considered to be false by Muslim scholars themselves. He exercised his own critical judgment in dealing with controversial points. The concluding part of the work contains a short history of the rightly directed Caliphs.

On the biography of the Prophet a large number of books have been written, among which the voluminous work entitled AL MAWAḤIB AL LAḌUNHIYYAH, by Al-qasṭalānī (923) is perhaps the most important from the Muslim standpoint, but the biography under consideration supersedes it as far as accuracy and critical judgment are concerned. 'Alī 'Abbās Chiryākotī, a contemporary scholar and a worthy teacher of a worthy pupil, such as Hawlānā Shiblī, has written a long Arabic poem in praise of the book, of which this couplet may be quoted here:-

(Do not wonder if the book has surpassed the books of the previous writers, because wine possesses a merit which the grape does not). The poet means to say that, just as wine excels the grapes of which it is made, so this book surpasses all the works from which it has drawn its materials. This second hemistich has been adopted in this couplet from a couplet of Al-mutanabbī.

IV. OTHER BIOGRAPHICAL WORKS: FIVE.

1. AL RAḤḤ AL NĀḤIR FĪ MAN ISMUNHŪ 'ABD QĀDIR, by 'Abd al-qādir al 'Aydarūs, already noticed. It contains, as indicated by its very title, biographical notices of those Muslim religious and secular worthies who were named 'Abd al-qādir. It is, so far as is known to the writer of the present thesis, the first book of its kind. It contains short biographies of about 40 persons named 'Abd al-qādir.

2. ZAḤR AL RIYĀḌ WA ZULĀL AL RIYĀḌ, by Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Shadqan. The author was an 'Arab and was born at Madīnah, but

in his youth went to India and attached himself to the Niẓām Shāhī House of Ahmad-Nagar. One of the kings gave him his daughter in marriage and thus he rose to a high position, but the fall of the house reduced his circumstances and he had to leave India for Arabia, although he soon returned. The date of his death is not known. He was a learned man and a poet. The Sulāfat al-'Aqr contains a biographical note on him, with a specimen of his poetry. Besides the present work, he was the author of another work entitled AL JAWĀHIR AL NIẒĀMIYYAH.

The work under consideration is a large biographical dictionary, alphabetically arranged and written in a simple easy style. Though it is a sort of compilation, or perhaps an abridgment of previous works, such as the WAFAYĀT AL A'YĀN etc., from which the compiler has taken most of his material, with a few additions from other sources, its value must not be underrated, for besides biographical notes, it contains many digressions of historical geographical and literary interest.

3. **SULĀFAT AL 'AQR FĪ MAĤĀSIN AL SHU'ARĀ' BI KULL MIṢR,**
by Al-Sayyid 'Alī Ṣadr al-Dīn b. Ahmad Niẓām b. Ma'gūm,
generally known as Sayyid 'Alī Khān or Ibn Ma'gūm. The author was a descendant of the eminent philosopher Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr Shīrāzī. He was born in Madīnah in 1052 and while a boy of sixteen, joined his father Niẓām al-Dīn Ahmad, who stood high in the favour of Sulṭān 'Abd Allāh Quṭb Shāh at Ḥaydarābād. A year after the death of that king (1083) he lost his father and was imprisoned by the new Sulṭān Abū 'l Ḥasan, but he managed somehow or other to escape and reached the court of 'Alauḡir, who received him with favour, conferred upon him the title of Khān under the name of Sayyid 'Alī Khān, and appointed him to the Mīwānī of Burhānpūr. Towards the end of his life he left India for Persia, and settled at Shīrāz where he died in 1117. He was an

eminent man of letters, well-versed in poetical art and belles lettres, and was the author of several compositions.

The present work, like AL NŪR AL SĀFIR, already reviewed, is a link in an important biographical series of poets, started by Tha'ālībī (429)⁽¹⁾ some six centuries back in the form of the compilation of his well-known YATĪMAT AL-'DAHR, and carried on by later writers, Al-Bākhari (467) and Iṣfahānī (597) in the forms of DUMYAT AL QAṢR and KHARĪDAT AL QAṢR respectively. As a matter of fact, the present work is a supplement to a similar work entitled RAYḤĀNAT AL ALIBBĀ' by Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Khafājī, who died in 1069. The author tells us in the preface that for a long time it had been an earnest desire of his to contribute to the literary world something about the poetical geniuses of his time (i.e. the 11th century) on the lines of the YATĪMAT AL DAHR and DUMYAT AL QAṢR, but various obstacles stood in his way, until he happened to get hold of a copy of the RAYḤĀNAT AL ALIBBĀ' which he liked very much as it was compiled on almost the same plan as he himself was aspiring to follow. He found no fault with this work, except that the author of the RAYḤĀNAH omitted many poetical worthies. To make up for this deficiency, he at once sat down to compile the present work, which in the first place deals with those eminent and distinguished poets of the eleventh century whom the author of RAYḤĀNAH missed out, and in the second place fills a small gap of 13 years that lies between the date of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafājī's death and that of the compilation of the BULĀFAH, which the author himself gives as 1082. Moreover, our author mentions again some of those poets whom Al-Khafājī has included, but with this restriction that Ibn Maḡūm does not repeat those verses which al-Khafājī had quoted.

(1) Tha'ālībī is said to have followed the lines laid down by Harūn b. 'Alī (d. 238) in his book "Al-Bārī" Khalifah, II, 4.

This work contains the following sections:-

- Section I. Poets of Makkah and Madīnah.
 " II. Poets of Syria and Egypt .
 " III. Poets of Yaman.
 " IV. Poets of 'Ajam, 'Irāq and Bahrayn.
 " V. Poets of Maghrib.

Altogether one hundred and twenty-four poets have been noticed, of whom some half dozen are Indians or connected with India. This book is not merely an anthology but a biographical work as well. Its biographical notices are generally longer and more detailed than those of the YATĪMAH or DUMYAT AL QAṢR. But it is to be regretted that the style is ornate and flowery, and this considerably mars its utility.

4. AL DARAJĀT AL RAFIĀH FĪ AL ṬABAQĀT AL IMĀNIYYAH MIN AL SHĪ'AH by the same author, is a collection of the lives of the eminent men who held the Shī'ah faith from the very beginning of Islām to the time of the author, i.e. the early part of the eleventh century of the Hijra.

The author states in the preface that as there was no similar work in existence, he felt the necessity of compiling a book dealing with the lives of the eminent Shī'ahs. About Nūr Allāh Shustarī's MAJĀLIS AL MU'MINĪN which exactly covers the same scope, he remarks that in the first place Nūr Allāh has mistakenly included among the Shī'ites many persons who were not really such, and in the second place, that the work is in Persian and not in Arabic.

This book is divided into twelve parts, called Ṭabaqāt. The first Ṭabaqah, which deals with the Companions of the Prophet, consists of four Muqaddimāt and two chapters. As this work has not yet been published, a full list of the contents may not be undesirable.

- I. Introduction - Definition of a ṣaḥābī.
 II. " - The position of a ṣaḥābī
 III. " - Classification of the Companions:
 Maqbūl and Mardūd.

IV. Introduction - Regarding those Companions who joined
'Alī at the end.

I. Chapter - Hashimite Companions.

II. " - Other Companions.

The subject matter of the other Ṭabaqah is as follows:

The second Ṭabaqah - The TABI 'UN.

- " third " - Those Muḥaddithūn who received Ḥadīth directly from the Imāms.
- " fourth " - All the scholars and theological doctors.
- " fifth " - The philosophers and scholastic theologians.
- " sixth " - The scholars of Arabic literature.
- " seventh " - Ṣūfīs.
- " eighth " - Emperors and kings.
- " ninth " - Nobles.
- " tenth " - Ministers.
- " eleventh " - Poets.
- " twelfth " - Ladies.

As far as one can gather from all the published catalogues of the libraries, the Berlin Library alone contains a manuscript of this work⁽¹⁾ and that is incomplete, having only two Ṭabaqat (the first and fourth) out of the twelve.

5. SUBḤAT AL MARJĀN FI ĪṬHĀR HINDŪSTĀN, by Sayyid Ghulām 'Alī Āzād Bilgrāmī.⁽²⁾ The author was a member of the Wāḡitī Sayyids, settled in Bilgram, and was born in 1116. His father had held for seven years the appointment of Nā'ib in Bhakar and Sistān, and Āzād himself acted as Nā'ib in the latter place from 1142 to 1147. In 1150 he went on a pilgrimage to

(1) Berlin, 10050.

(2) European writers generally spell Bilgrām as Balgram, but this is incorrect. The late Sayyid 'Alī Bilgrāmī used to spell the word with an ī.

Makkah where he stayed for two years, in the course of which he completed his studies of Ḥadīth with Muḥammad Ḥayāt Sīndī and 'Abd al-Wahhāb. After his return to India, he settled in Awrangābād where he stood very high in the favour of Nizām al-Dawlah Nāṣir Jang and his brothers from whom he never accepted any office. He died in 1200. He was an eminent scholar, well versed in all branches of Muslim learning. He learnt the art of poetry from his maternal grandfather, Sayyid 'Abd al-Jalīl Bilgrāmī. He is the only Indian poet who left seven diwans of Arabic poetry. He was the author of several works both in Arabic and in Persian.

The subject matter of this book is, as indicated by its title, India. It is divided into four chapters, the first of which deals with the excellence and eminence of India and with the references to that country in the qur'ānic commentaries and Ḥadīth. The author has quoted many Ḥadīth and remarks of the commentators on the qur'ān relating the story of Adam and Eve being thrown down from Paradise on to the mountain named after Adam in Ceylon.

The second chapter is devoted to the biographical sketches of Indian Muslim scholars and learned men. This chapter is the most important in the whole book. It contains 43 biographical notices arranged almost in chronological order. He begins this chapter with a short account of Abū Ḥafṣ Rabī', one of the Tab' Ṭabī'in, who went to Sind and died there in 160, and concludes it with an account of himself. This work is not only one of the most important sources of the present thesis, but also of all the later similar works, such as ABJAD AL 'ULŪM and TADHKIRAH -I-'ULAMĀ'-I-HIND. The author wrote another book of the same nature but in Persian, under the title of MA'ĀTHIR AL KIRĀM, which, though chiefly intended to deal with the biographies of the eminent scholars and saints of Bilgrām, the native place of the author, contains one hundred and fifty short notices of the scholars of other parts of India also.

The third chapter of the SUBHAT AL MAHJĀN is on rhetoric and sets forth the beauties of prose and poetry. In this chapter the author has shown some originality which will be discussed later on in connection with philology and rhetoric.

The fourth chapter is on love, from both the Indian and the Arabian standpoint.

The first and the third chapters really comprise two separate works of the author, entitled respectively SHAMMĀMAT AL 'ANBAR and TASLIYAT AL FUWĀD, but he has incorporated them into the present work also.

V. TRAVEL : ONE WORK.

There is only one Arabic work of travel, the credit of which may be given to India, as it was written by a scholar who, though a foreigner, lived the greater part of his life in India. The title of this travel-book is SALWAT AL GHARĪB FĪ USWAT AL ADĪB, and the name of the author is Sayyid 'Alī Khān Ibn Ma'sūm, already noticed. In this work the author gives a detailed account of his journey from Makkah to Gulkandah at the call of his father who was already there in the service of the king of Gulkandah, 'Abd Allāh b. Muhammad Quṭb Shāh. The author, while still a boy of tender age, left Makkah on Sha'ban the 6th 1066, and reached his destination after three years on Rabi' al-Awwal 22nd 1069. The work we are considering was completed thirteen years later.

It is an interesting work from three points of view, geographical, biographical and purely literary. Among matters of geographical interest, besides a short geography of India, taken from Mas'ūdī, it contains information concerning al-Bayḍā, Al-Sa'diyyah, Al-Qanfadhah - an ancient port of Makkah now replaced by Jiddah - Bandar al-Lahya, Makrān, Bandar Mukha, Chitāpūr, Rājpur, Bijāpur, Gulbarg and Gulkandah. The author also dwells on certain special character-

isties of seas, ambergris, fishes, Indian vegetables (such as spices, coconuts, mango, betel and sugar-cane) and Indian animals (such as parrots, peacocks and elephants). While speaking of the last-mentioned animal, he removes some wrong notions that prevailed among the people. He says that the trunk of an elephant is hollow and not solid, that its cry is not like that of a human infant, as generally believed; that the animal can sit down, and that the generative organ of the she-elephant lies, like that of other animals, between her hinder legs and not between her forelegs.

Among matters of biographical interest, the following items may be mentioned here.

1. A short account of the ancient Hindū kings and the Hindū religion, taken from the works of previous writers, chiefly from those of Mas'ūdī, and also an account of Muṣayyūn.
2. Short accounts of Arabian scholars attached to the court of the king of Gulkandah.
3. A description of the Muharram mourning of the people of the Deccan.
4. A description of the royal marriage of Hārūn and Al-Ma'mūn the 'Abbāsid Caliphs.

As to the matters of purely literary interest, this work is so full of them that it may be said that the book is a work of a literary nature rather than of a geographical or biographical only. Being a man of poetical talents and of a highly literary turn of mind, the author could not write a book even on travel without embellishing it rather to the extreme, with digressions and observations which, though important from a purely literary standpoint, had nothing to do with the main theme. From the literary point of view the book is so interesting that it is difficult for a reader of literary tastes to leave it unfinished when he has once begun it. Of the literary matters, the following are important:

1. Complaints against the hardness of the time and how unfavourable and antagonistic it is to the learned and men of letters.
2. Lamentations upon being away from home.
3. The merits and demerits of travel: a sort of debate, representing the opposite points of view about travel, about which quotations from the Qur'ān, Hadīth and other sayings are given.
4. A pathetic description of a departure from Makkah. Many beautiful verses are given here and there.
5. Literary and intellectual witticisms concerning money, fish, coffee, wind, the wonders of the sea, a sea voyage, a boat, a parrot, an elephant, etc. About coffee he relates an interesting story. Once a certain godly man said, in reply to a certain Turkish officer who had prohibited the drinking of coffee: "It cannot be condemned." Being asked the reason, he rejoined: "Because the numerical value of the word QAHWAH is exactly equal to that of AL QAWIYY, one of the names of God."

About the elephant he has given many similes. One may be quoted here!

(This elephant with his wonderful tusks is like a night that has preyed upon the day and so it is seen in its teeth).

6. Verses from the poetry of many poets whom he happened to meet during his travels.

The work is not yet published. The only MS known to be existing is in the Berlin Library, (No. 6136).

The third book CHAPTER X. author's commentary entitled THEPAT AL QHĀMĪS, on Ibn Hishām's MUGHNĪ AL LAHĪB. This commentary was composed in 824, when the author was in Kāsh-
malah. All these works were produced by one and the same

The contribution of India to the philological branch
are of high value. The works chiefly of the author in
of Arabic literature may be discussed under three heads, viz.
his work MUGHNĪ AL LAHĪB.
Grammar, Lexicography, and Rhetoric.

Next to these three works comes an Arabic syntax en-
titled AL-IRSHĀD GRAMMAR. composed by Shihāb al-

Though it is true that the art of original composition
on Arabic Grammar reached its zenith about the end of the
seventh century, so that after Ibn Hishām (d. 761) the last
of the four famous grammarians (the other three being Zamakh-
sharī, the author of the MUFAṢṢAL, Ibn Ḥajib, the author of
the KĀFIYAH, and Ibn Mālik, the author of the ALFIYYAH) no
Muslim succeeded in producing a grammatical work on original
lines, based on researches of his own, yet students of Arabic
grammar did not remain idle in later periods, and what they
achieved is by no means insignificant. of the newly-made qāfi's
abil The first book on grammar that may be mentioned here
in connection with the contribution of India to this branch
of Arabic literature is a commentary, entitled TA'LĪQ AL-
FARĀ'ID, on Ibn Mālik's TASHĪL AL FAWĀ'ID WA TASHĪL AL MAQĀSID,
composed by Muḥammad b. Abū Bakr b. 'Umar al-Damāminī, an
eminent scholar and grammarian of Egypt who, during the latter
part of his life, was attracted to India by the royal patron-
age of one of her princes. The author wrote this work at
Cambay in Gujarāt where he arrived in 820 and dedicated it
to Sulṭān Aḥmad Shāh of Gujarāt (814-846). has been well ex-
plain The second work is by the same author, a commentary
entitled AL MANḤAL AL ṢĀFĪ, on Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān b. 'Umar
Balkhī's WĀFĪ. The author wrote this commentary for another
king of the same name, i.e. Aḥmad Shāh Bahmanī (825-838), in
825 when he was on the way to Aḥsanābād (Gulberg).

The third book is the same author's commentary entitled **TUHFAT AL QHARĪB**, on Ibn Hishām's **MUGHNĪ AL LABĪB**. This commentary was composed in 824, when the author was in Nahr-wālah. All these three works produced by one and the same author under the patronage of the Indian princes and in India are of high value. Suyūṭī speaks highly of the author in his work **BUḤYAT AL WU'ĀT**.

Next to these three works comes an Arabic syntax entitled **AL-IRSHĀD** (or **IRSHĀD AL-NAḤW**), composed by Shihāb al-Dīn al-Dawlatābādī. He was born at Dawlatābād in the Deccan during the latter half of the eighth century of the Hijra. He completed his studies at Delhi with qāḍī 'Abd al-Muqtadir and Mawlānā Khwājagī, eminent scholars of Delhi in that day. When Timūr invaded the Indian Metropolis, Mawlānā Khwājagī and Shihāb al-Dīn had to leave for some other place. The teacher settled in a village called Kālpī and the pupil went so far as Jawnpūr, where Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī (reigned 804-844) received him with honour and made him qāḍī. The king further showed his appreciation of the newly-made qāḍī's abilities and learning by bestowing upon him the dignified title of 'Malik al-'Ulama', which the recipient rightly deserved. He was the author of many other works, and died in or before the year 849.

Al-Irshād is a text-book on Arabic syntax and is superior to the celebrated **KĀFIYAH** of Ibn Ḥajīb, in the opinion of Indian scholars.⁽¹⁾ Apart from all these qualities which make it a Maṭn (text-book), it has a strange characteristic which no other book on Grammar (and this peculiarity is possible only in books on Grammar) possesses; this has been well explained in the author's own words. He says:

This comparison of similar passages from the two works gives at once a clear idea of the characteristic of the

(1) Wakīl Ahmad Akhbār Muḥāt, p. 119.

("With the help of God it has been easy for me to set down instances of rules in words which embody the very definition of each. I have illustrated each rule by an example which fits in with the very words of the rule or with the preceding or following phrases and sentences.")

This peculiarity may be illustrated by a similar definition in English of a pronoun, viz. "A pronoun is a word which is used in place of a noun." Here the very definition of a pronoun contains an example of one, viz. "which".

To write a text-book maintaining this odd peculiarity throughout is no easy task. Yet the author of the **IRSHAD** has successfully overcome the difficult restrictions which he voluntarily, though pedantically, imposed upon himself. A few examples are given below:-

The first, decides in favour of the **KĀFIYAH**, yet it cannot deprive the **KĀFIYAH** of the superiority given to it by another equally well-known proverb, as wit, **AL HAJJ LI'Ā MATAQANNIN**. Hajji Khalifah speaks of the **IRSHAD** in the following terms:-

(It is a fine text-book for the systematising of which the author has made best use of his cerebral thinking, and for the elegance of the arrangement of which he did what could be done.)

Here are similar passages from the **KĀFIYAH** for comparison:-

Hajson:- Khalifah mentions the name of **Abū al-Faḡl al-Khaṭīb Qāṣarūnī**, who was one of the teachers of **Mubārak**, father of **Abū 'l-Faḡl**, who speaks highly of him (**Al-Khaṭīb**) in the **Ā'in-Akbarī**. Brockelmann gives two other names, but they are not Indian. 'Abd al-Habī al-Shattārī, an eminent Indian scholar of Jahāngir's time, also wrote a commentary upon it.

Shihāb al-Dīn wrote also a commentary on the **KĀFIYAH**, which is much better than the **IRSHAD** and has been further compared with the **IRSHAD** by several scholars, as Hajji Khalifah says. **IRSHAD** **SHAH AL-DIN** is one of the most important comment-

Though the IRSHĀD does not enjoy the wide reputation and publicity of the KĀFIYAH, yet a careful comparison between the two works shows that the IRSHĀD is the better of the two in the arrangement and treatment of the subject. Its peculiarity of illustrating a rule with the very words of its description has rendered it briefer and more comprehensive than the KĀFIYAH. The reputation and popularity of the latter are due to the fact that it was written among an Arabic-speaking people and at a time when there was no such text-book in existence, while the IRSHĀD was written in India where Arabic was never spoken (except on its western coasts and even that for a short time only), and at a time when several text-books had been composed. Though the well-known saying of the East that a second impression always excels the first, decides in favour of the IRSHĀD, yet it cannot deprive the KĀFIYAH of the superiority given to it by another equally well-known proverb, to wit, AL FAQL LI'L MUTAQADDIM. Hajjī Khalīfah speaks of the IRSHĀD in the following terms:-

(It is a fine text-book for the systematising of which the author has made best use of his careful thinking, and for the elegance of the arrangement of which he did what could be done.)

This IRSHĀD has been commented upon by several scholars. Hajjī Khalīfah mentions the name of Abū al Faql al-Khaṭīb Gāzrunī, who was one of the teachers of Mubārak, father of Abū 'l Faql, who speaks highly of him (Al-Khaṭīb) in the Ā'in-Akbarī. Brockelmann gives two other names, but they are not Indian. 'Abd al-Habī al-Shattarī, an eminent Indian scholar of Jahāngir's time, also wrote a commentary upon it.

Shihāb al-Dīn wrote also a commentary on the KĀFIYAH, which is known as the SHARḤ AL HINDI and has been further commented upon by no less than four scholars, as Hajjī Khalīfah says. The SHARḤ AL HINDI is one of the most important comment-

aries on the KĀFIYAH (the others being one by Raḡī al-Dīn and one by the famous poet of Persia, Jāmī.) Jāmī is said to have written his commentary in response to an impetus he received from an Indian scholar. The story says that one of Jāmī's sons went to India, and a certain scholar there asked him who he was, and receiving the reply, remarked contemptuously, "Oh, I see! You are the son of Jāmī, the poet." For a poet has never been esteemed by scholars. When Jāmī heard the story, he at once resolved to prove his scholarly abilities, and so he composed his commentary. When this learned work was brought to India, the same scholar, after examining it, made the observation that there was nothing new in it and that it was based on the SHARḤ AL HINDĪ.⁽¹⁾

The truth of the story may be doubted, but there is no doubt about the fact that save for the discussion on ḤĀSIL WA MAḤSŪL which the SHARḤ -I-JĀMĪ contains, there is not much difference between the two commentaries. Jāmī must have kept the SHARḤ-I-HINDĪ before him while composing his own commentary. If this remark of Ḥājji Khalīfah that⁽²⁾ these two commentaries (Shihāb al-Dīn's and Jāmī's) supplied materials for the well-known Turkish commentary on the KĀFIYAH, does not shed sufficient light on this inference that both the Arabic commentaries are similar, it does, however, sufficiently prove the value of the SHARḤ AL HINDĪ.

In short, Shihāb al-Dīn wrote two works on Arabic syntax: one a text-book and the other a commentary. His text-book, if it does not really excel the KĀFIYAH is certainly a serious rival to this book, while his SHARḤ has been a source and basis for one of the best commentaries on the KĀFIYAH. Apart from the three grammatical works already noticed by Al-Damānī, if only these two books by Shihāb al-Dīn had been produced in India, even then the contribution of this non-Arabic

(1) Wakil Ahmad' Akhbār-i-Muḥāt, p. 125.

(2) Khalīfah, v. 12.

191

speaking country to the grammatical section of Arabic literature would have been worthy of attention. But we find that several other works have been composed in India. 'Abd al-Rashīd Jawnpurī, already noticed, was the author of two works on grammar: one, TADHKIRAT AL NAHW, and the other, BID'AYAT AL NAHW. The latter book has a peculiarity of its own. All the instances given in this work have been taken from Wiqh. 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī wrote two extensive super-commentaries on Jāmī's commentary: one is the complement of the unfinished super-commentary by 'Abd al-Qhafūr, the pupil of Jāmī, on the Sharḥ-i-Jāmī, and the other is a gloss on this super-commentary of 'Abd al-Qhafūr. Both these super-commentaries have been published in Constantinople. In addition to the works mentioned above, several other books on grammar have been written in India (vide the Appendix), of which the commentary of Shihāb al-Dīn's pupil, ḡafī b. Ḥaḡīr, entitled GHAYĀT AL TAḤQĪQ, on the KĀFIYAH, may be mentioned here. Ḥajjī Khalīfah speaks highly of it.

Before this account of the works on Arabic grammar produced in India is concluded, a rather curious treatise by 'Alī Maḥā'imī, already noticed, may be mentioned here again. It is not exactly a grammar, but it deals with the grammatical analysis of the opening verse of the Sūrah Baqar

In this small book the learned author has worked out 6111644 different ways of analysing this small collection of a few words. This work is not known to be still in existence. Qhulām 'Alī Āzād has given a fairly long extract from it in his SUBḤAT AL MARJĀN. This wonderful grammatical achievement of an Indian scholar may go to prove that India has not failed in producing scholars well versed in Arabic learning.

LEXICOGRAPHY.

As to the contribution of India to Arabic lexicography, we find that three of the first class Arab dictionaries are works of scholars in some way or another connected with India. One of them is of foreign origin, but his father settled at Lahore, where he was born, and hence he is called Lahorī or Hindī. The second is a genuine foreigner, but he paid two visits to India and received royal patronage from the king of Delhi. The third is a native of India, was born in India, and received his early education there, and then went abroad in pursuit of knowledge, to shine eventually like the sun in the sky of Arabic learning.

The first is Ragī al-Dīn Ḥasan al-saghānī al-Hindī (650), who has already been noticed in the discussion on the contribution of India to Arabic literature on Ḥadīth. He was a great traditionist and philologist and wrote a number of books.

1. 'URĀB, which is one of the standard dictionaries and which "after the MUḤKAM, is the greatest of the lexicological works composed since the age of the ṢIḤĀḤ, to the time of the author of the MUZHİR, of those known to him."⁽¹⁾ Nothing more need be said of this work, it is too well known to require any further remark.

2. TAKMILAH WA ḤAYL WA ṢILAH, a sort of critical supplement to the ṢIḤĀḤ. The first two parts are complete, but the third remained incomplete owing to the death of the author. It runs up to the section of the letter "'AYN". In one of these parts the author rectifies the mistakes made by the author of the ṢIḤĀḤ, and in another he has collected these words of importance which the ṢIḤĀḤ does not contain. Neither of these tasks is easy or ordinary in any way, because to write a new dictionary is not so difficult as to

(1) Lane's preface to his Arabic-English Lexicon, p. XV.

criticise it, to point out its mistakes, and to supply its omissions, just as Dozy's Arabic dictionary supplies such deficiencies.

3. The third work of Ṣaghānī with which we are here concerned is KITĀB AL AḤDĀD, which deals with words of opposite meanings. It is a small but useful treatise. One of the characteristics of the Arabic language is that it has many words which express two opposite meanings. For example, the word "BAY'" means both "buying" and "selling"; the word "ṢARĪM" means both "day" and "night", and the word "MASIḤ" signifies "Christ" and also "Anti-Christ (Dajjāl)". This tract contains all such words arranged in alphabetical order.

4. KITĀB AL DHĀ'B. Another feature of the Arabic language is its large number of synonymous words. In Arabic, for instance, there are 21 words for "NŪR", 52 for "darkness", 29 for the sun, 88 for the well, 350 for the lion or tiger, 100 for the camel, and 255 for the she-camel.⁽¹⁾ The KHITĀB AL DHĪ'B contains all the words in the Arabic language for the wolf. All these words are sufficient to prove what a great command this scholar had over the Arabic language.

The second great lexicographer who has been associated with India, in the sense of having paid two visits to that country, is Majd al-Dīn Firūzābādī, author of the well-known Arabic dictionary QĀMŪS. He went to India for the first time in the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughlaq (ruled 1351-1388) and the second time during the reign of Mahmūd Shāh II Tughlaq.⁽²⁾ The QĀMŪS cannot be claimed as an Indian product, but at the same time no one can ignore the significance of the fact that the royal patronage of the Indian courts was extended to the author of it.

(1) Jurjī Zaydār Ta'rikhādāb al-Bughat al 'Arabiyyah, I, 49.

(2) Huart's Arabic Literature, p. 388.

The third great lexicon writer, who was a real native of India but left it for Arabia and Egypt in search of knowledge, is Sayyid Murtaḡā Zabīdī, already noticed, who was destined to write a very comprehensive and extensive commentary on the QĀMŪS. This work is also too well known to need discussion here.

In addition to these three great lexicographers, there has been in India another set of scholars of the same number (i.e. three) who were well-versed in this branch of Arabic philology.

One of them is 'Abd al-Rashīd Thattawī who, by order of Shahjahan composed a dictionary of Arabic words entitled MUNTAKHAB AL LUḡĤĀT, using Persian as the vehicle. This work is much used in India.

The second of these scholars is 'Abd al-Rahīm of Safīpūr, who flourished about the end of the Mughal period and died shortly before the Mutiny. He composed a voluminous dictionary entitled MUNTAHA AL 'IRAB, consisting of three volumes, but here again the medium is Persian. In India this lexicon is so much used that has almost replaced all other dictionaries.

The last of this trio is Muftī Sa'd Allāh of Murādābād, who wrote a detailed and full appreciation of the QĀMŪS in the form of a book of more than three hundred pages. This work deserves attention, though it does not fall within the scope of the present thesis, as the author died about 14 years after the Mutiny, and it may not be unsuitable to give the headings of some of the headings of the thirty-five chapters of which it consists, in order to show its nature and value.

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| Chapter I. | An account of the author's life. |
| " II. | The name of the book explained. |
| " III. | The actual number of the words contained in the Qāmūs. He has not only counted up all |

Chapter III. the actual words, but he has only given enumerations of the words in each section. He says that the **QAMŪS** deals with 10406 words altogether, of which 5777 are also contained in the **ṢIḤĀḤ** while the rest are additional words.

- " IV. A Description of different MSS.
- " V. The sources.
- " VI. A comparison between the **ṢIḤĀḤ** and the **QAMŪS**.
- " VII. An account of the commentaries on the **QAMŪS**.
- " VIII. Technical terms used by the author.
- " X. Hints as to the way of consulting the lexicon.
- " XI. The peculiarities of the author's style.
- " XIII. Glosses on the difficult passages.
- " XIV-XXIII. The mistakes of the author pointed out under various heads.
- " XXIV. The author's wrong criticism on the author of the **ṢIḤĀḤ**.
- " XXV. Those words in the **ṢIḤĀḤ** which the author of the **QAMŪS** has omitted from his work.
- " XXVI. Those meanings of certain words which are given in the **ṢIḤĀḤ** but not found in the **QAMŪS**.
- " XXX. The unnecessary repetition in the **QAMŪS**.
- " XXXI. Occasional brevity to the point of obscurity.
- " XXXIII. A reply to a critic's severe criticism of the author.

This article on the contribution of India to Arabic lexicography would remain incomplete if at the end mention were not made of a most important work written in India, which is not exactly a lexicon in the proper sense of that term but a dictionary of technical terms. I mean, the **KASHISHĀF ISTILĀḤĀT AL FUNŪN**, composed by Muḥammad 'Alī al-Fārūqī of Thānābhawan in the district of Muzaffarnagar about the middle of the 12th century of the Hijra, the date of its completion being 1156. This work, as indicated by its very title, deals

with all the technicalities of all the Arabic arts and sciences. It is of immense help as a reference book, and has been published in two large volumes under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

There is another Indian work of equal importance with the KASHSHĀF which, though not connected with philology, should be mentioned at this juncture if it is to be noticed at all. This is a bibliographical work entitled KASHF AL ḤUJUB WA'L ASTĀR 'AN ASTAR 'AN ASHĀ' AL KUTAB WA'L ASFĀR, compiled by I'jāz Ḥusayn Kantūrī, a Shī'ah scholar of the 13th century. This work is a bibliographical lexicon of all the works of the Shī'ah authors, the names of the books being arranged alphabetically as in the KASHF AL ZUNŪN.

RHETORIC. PROSODY, ET CETERA.

logy, the most important text-book ever written on the science of rhetoric ('ILM AL BALĀGHAH) is Al-Sakkākī's Miftāh. On logy, the most important text-book ever written on the science of rhetoric ('ILM AL BALĀGHAH) is Al-Sakkākī's Miftāh. On this text many commentaries and super-commentaries, glosses and super-glosses have been written in various countries, interested directly or indirectly in Arabic literature. India as a country interested indirectly in the literature and culture of Arabs has not fallen short of a reasonable expectation in her contribution to Arabic 'Ilm al Balāghah, a science comprehending several branches, for which the English language seems to have no single equivalent, unless it is literally translated as the science of elegant speech.

The first Indian scholar who wrote on one of the branches of the 'Ilm al Balāghah is, as far as I know, Raḡī al-Dīn Ḥaqan al-Ṣaghānī al-Hindī. He wrote a treatise on prosody entitled MUKHTAṢAR AL 'ARŪḌ, a MS. of which is to be found in the Berlin Library under the number 7127. It is a short but comprehensive treatise and deals with all the principles of prosody.

197

Then comes the great Persian poet of India, Amīr Khusraw. His father, Amīr Sayf al-Dīn, in the reign of Changiz Khan left his native country, Mā Warā' al-Nahr, came to India, and settled at a place near Delhi, where he married the daughter of 'Imād al-Mulk, of whom Amīr Khusraw was born in 561. At a very early age, Amīr Khusraw displayed an extraordinary poetical genius and a strong disposition for the study of every kind of science and art, and consequently he very soon arose in eminence as a scholar and poet and met with the highest distinction in the assemblies of princes. In Sūfism he became the disciple of the famous Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā who had a high regard and great love for his spiritual pupil. Amīr Khusraw served seven different kings, all of whom were favourably disposed towards him. He is regarded as the best and greatest of the Persian poets of India, and is the author of several works. He died in 725, six months after the death of his beloved spiritual leader. His wonderful genius and rare talents enabled him to compose a voluminous and "miraculous" work entitled I'JĀZ I KHUSRAWĪ on the art of rhetoric. This book is in Persian, but he has given Arabic examples, all his own, of all the rhetorical devices and figures of speech that he has mentioned in this work. Amīr Khusraw invented many a literary beauty, one or two examples of which may be given here to show that an Indian mind, whether interested in Arabic or Persian literature, has never failed to respond wherever there is any call for artificial contrivances, for far-fetched conventions, and an excessive use of fancy and imagination.

One of them is what is termed TARJAMAT AL LAFẓ by its author. This figure of speech lies in using two words which are synonymous, but of two different languages, e.g.

(When a proclaimer invites stars for your gifts, the stars become just like a singing bird that sings for joy.)

Here the figure lies in the use of the two words ANJUMAN and NĀDĪ, and also in MAHARRAT and SHĀDĪ. The first two words (the former in Persian and the latter in Arabic) mean "meeting", while the last two (the first in Arabic and the second in Persian) mean "happiness".

Another interesting figure of speech invented by Amīr Khusraw that may be mentioned here is Ḥu Bu'yatayn, which lies in the composition of verses in one language in such a way that they may be changed into another with a change of dots and diacritical marks. For instance - (1)

(My dutiful friend, my comrade, my hope, my salvation, the competition of the ladies has thrown me into disappointment)
This couplet, with the change of dots and diacritical points, is read in Persian thus:-

(You arrived and saw me last night in an inn. Sit for a while with me. You deserve friendship."

A still more ingenious figure of speech is what Amīr Khusraw calls QALB AL LISĀNAYN, which is found in those verses which shift from one language to another, if they are read reversely from the last letter (not words) of their hemistiches e.g. - (2)

which read reversely becomes a Persian verse in the following way:-

It may be noted that the more artificial a verse, the less clear the sense, and hence the meaning of the last couplet which contains one of the most artificial and difficult figure of speech is not clear.

(1) Khusraw, I'JAZ-I-KHUSRAWI, II, 64.

(2) Ibid, II, 64.

The greatest exponent of the subtleties of the 'ILM AL BALĀGHAH that India has produced is 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Siyālkūtī, who has been mentioned many times. He wrote an extensive and copious super-commentary on the MUṬAWWAL of Sa'd al-Dīn Taftāzānī, which is in its turn an exhaustive commentary on Sakkaī's MIYFĀH. This super-commentary has been published in Constantinople and enjoys a high repute among men of letters both in India and in Turkey.

Next comes Sayyid 'Alī b. Ahmad, commonly called Ibn Maṣ'ūm, already noticed as the author of the SULĀFAH and other works. Of the several works left by him, we are concerned here with the ANWĀR AL RABĪ' FI ANWĀ' AL BADI'. This work consists of a BADI' IYYAH (a poem containing examples of all the figures of speech) of the author and his own commentary on it. The author after reading the BADI' IYYAH of Ibn Ḥijjah and its commentary, composed a similar poem in order to surpass his predecessor. He afterwards wrote an extensive commentary from which the present one is abridged. This work has been fully described by Dr. Rieu in his Catalogue of Arabic MSS, under the MS No. 990.

The last, but not least, author worthy of notice is the great Arabic poet of India, Ghulām 'Alī Āzād who has rightly won the distinguished title of the Ḥassān al-Hind. The third chapter of his SUBḤAT AL MARJĀN, is devoted exclusively to literary beauties and rhetorical devices. Like Amīr Khusrāw, he was a scholar of some originality as far as the art of rhetoric is concerned. He has likewise invented some figures of speech and has creditably introduced into Arabic literature some of the rhetorical beauties of Sanskrit and Hindi.

He states in the beginning of the above-mentioned third chapter of the SUBḤAT that the ancient Hindūs invented many figures of speech and rhetorical devices, some of which are common to themselves and to the Arabs, whilst others are peculiar to them only, and so he proposes to introduce the

latter kind of figures of speech into Arabic literature, hoping that the Arabs will realise the value of Indian rhetoric as they have appreciated the merits of Indian swords. He has adopted twenty-three of the Indian figures of speech, and has given them appropriate names. Thirty-seven figures of speech he has himself invented. In addition to these two classes of rhetorical contrivances, he has also mentioned nine old figures of speech. thus dealing with sixty-nine figures altogether, which he has discussed in three *Malāqāt* (Discourses).

To indicate the nature of the figures of speech borrowed from Sanskrit, one or two examples may be given here:-

1. *Barā 'at al-Jawāb*. This beauty lies in giving one ambiguous word in reply to two different questions. The following example in English may give an idea about it: suppose there are two questions: Why is there no fish caught? and What is wrong with this triangle? The reply in both cases may be "Because there is no angle."

2. *Mukhalafat al-Sidq Bi'l Kodhb*, which means "mixing truth with falsehood", that is to say, arguing for a false fact by means of a true fact, e.g.:

(You have frightened the people of Sjirk (i.e. polytheists) so much that even the embryo that has not yet been born fears you." Here the last fact is absolutely false, but it has been mentioned in such relation with the former statement - which may indeed be true - that the mind of the reader cannot distinguish between true and false.

Another beauty that may be mentioned here is one invented by Amir Khusraw but named *BŪ QALAMŪN* by Āsād. It consists in employing in a sentence or a verse a word common to more than one language, in such a way that the different meanings of the word according to the different languages

may be applicable, e.g. in a Qur'ānic verse there is this small sentence in which the word FARDĀ means "alone" or "individually". God is speaking of a certain unbeliever. He says "We shall bring him alone." This word FARDĀ in Persian means "to-morrow", which often signifies "the day of resurrection." This meaning is also applicable here. Another example of the same figure of speech is another Qur'ānic verse which contains this sentence:

NADYĀ in Arabic means "assembly" and in Urdu or Hindi "river", which is also applicable. Āzād says that God, Omniscient as He is, must have thought of the beauty of this word.

Āzād has recorded a humorous anecdote which may not be out of place here. A certain Hindu, says Āzād, put this question to 'Abd al-Jalīl, an eminent scholar of Awrangzib's time: "You Muslims believe (There is nothing wet or dry but is in the book). Is there any mention of KĀNĀ (the name of their leader) in the Qur'ān?" "Oh yes," he replied promptly, "God says 'WA KĀNĀ MIN AL KĀFIRĪN'."

The following couplets are good examples of the figure of speech under consideration:

(A damsel, one of the Indian girls, has appeared in her garb—her skirts and veils; I said when she walked in her dress with an elegant gait, "What a beautiful garment, and how fair is she that walks.")

Here the word "SARĪ" in Hindī means a kind of Indian dress which is applicable also here. In this case the meaning of the phrase will be "What a nice dress" in place of "What a nice walker."

Āzād has also composed a BADI' IYYAH like those of other scholars. Before giving his BADI' IYYAH, he says, by way of a modest apology, that so far only scholars and those men of letters who have constantly been in contact with Arabic-speaking

nations have composed such poems. It is a very difficult task for an Indian to enter the arena of rhetorical competition with them. "I, by the grace of God," says he, "have succeeded in composing a BADI'ITYAH. Often it happens that a small man may achieve what may surprise great big folk."

In my humble opinion his BADI'ITYAH is a work that may rank with those of standard authors. If a critic cannot acknowledge the superiority of his rhetorical poem over those of other writers, yet I am sure he will not hesitate to regard him as competent for this intellectual competition with the literary heroes of Arabia and other countries, and this is in no way an ordinary achievement for a pure Indian.

CHAPTER XI.LITERARY COMPOSITION AND ORNATE PROSE.

As the production of this branch of literature, like that of poetry, demands, on the part of those who aspire to it, a complete mastery over the language and literature on the one hand, and a fine and delicate taste for literary subtleties on the other, it is, in view of the often mentioned disadvantages under which India has made her contribution to Arabic literature, rather too much to expect her to do her share in this matter to the same extent as she has done in the case of those departments of Arabic literature in which she has been less handicapped. Yet she has acquitted herself fairly well in this purely literary sphere also. This subject may be discussed under the following six heads:-

- I. Khutbahs (Sermons)
- II. Literary Selections.
- III. Letters.
- IV. Belles-Lettres.
- V. Commentaries on poetical works.
- VI. Fiction.

I. KHUTAB

In India many Khutbahs have been composed, of which the following deserve mention:-

1. The well-known Ṣūfī of India, named Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn styled Sulṭān al-Awliyā (725) was an eminent scholar also. One Khutbah of his has been much appreciated throughout India on account of the elegance of the style, coupled with the heart-burning expression of a lover's zeal and enthusiasm for the divine love, contained therein. It is still recited on the pulpits in many Indian mosques. Its style is elegant

and at the same time sublime. A few introductory sentences may be cited here:~

(All praise is due to Him, of the vision of Whom the eyes of beholders have fallen short and Whom the imagination of those who have communion with Him have failed to describe. He has created creatures with His power and brought them out of absolute nothingness into existence by His Will. He has made the tongue of the divine praisers recite LĀ ILĀHA ILLĀ ALLĀH and has deposited in the breasts of the learned the keys to lights known to none but God. He has animated the souls of those longing for the Divine vision, with the spirit of longing to behold the beauty of God, and has shed the blood of the lovers (of God) with the sword of His majesty in the desert of communion with God, and has burnt the hearts of the lovers (of God) with the fire of love in their longing to meet God. He has created paradise and hell for the believers and the infidels in order to repay the wicked for what they have done, and to compensate the righteous for their good deeds. If paradise be the lot of the gnostics, but without the vision of, and communion with Him, woe betide them; and if hell, accompanied with the beauty of God and with communion with Him, be allotted to those who long (for God), how great will be their longing.)

The sublimity of the ideas expressed therein and the elegance of the style are too obvious to require any comment, the last two sentences are particularly exquisite in their nature.

2. Shāh Walī Allāh of Delhi has also composed some Khutbahs, the finest being the one that begins as follows:-

The beauty of this Khutbah lies in the fact that the author has ably and ingeniously incorporated some suitable phrases and sentences from the Qur'ānic chapter LXXVI into his own composition. For instance, the first sentence, which runs:

has been taken from the first verse of the above-mentioned Sūrah, with this slight alteration that the introductory words

have been changed into

to suit the context. This beauty the author has maintained throughout. This Khutbah is very popular in India.

3. Muḥammad Ismā'īl, grandson of Shāh Walī Allāh, composed several Khutabāt all of them being well-known in India. This Muḥammad Ismā'īl was an eminent scholar and a strict follower of Ahl al-Ḥadīth. He earnestly espoused the cause of this sect in India and left many works in Arabic, Persian and Urdu bearing on this puritanic and non-conformist movement. His Khutabāt are elegant and sweet in style, and inspiring and sublime in theme.

4. Lastly may be mentioned the name of 'Abd al-Ḥayy, a modern author who composed a number of books in Arabic on various branches of Muslim learning. His book entitled AL LAṬĀ'IF AL MUSTAḤSINAH BI JAM' KHUTAB SHUKR AL SANAH, contains as many Khutabāt as there are Fridays in a year. Though the author does not fall within the scope of the present thesis, as he died some time after the Mutiny, yet his Khutabāt deserve mention here. Their peculiarity, apart from their charming style and elegant composition, lies in the fact that they are divided according to the number of the months in a year, each division being further subdivided according to the number of Fridays in a month. Thus each Friday had its own Khutbah, which, in addition to the general

theme of Khuṭabāt, deals with those injunctions and religious exercises which concern that particular month and week in which it is to be recited. As to the style, they may well be compared with such standard ornate prose works as ATṬĀQ AL ḤIAHAB by Zamakhsharī, and ATṬĀQ AL ḤIAHAB by Sharaf al-Dīn.

II. SELECTIONS.

Of the Arabic literary selections made in India one of the most valuable is NAḤḤAT AL YAMAN FI MĀ YAZŪLU BI ḤIKRIHĪ AL SHAJAN, which was collected by Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Yamanī (d. 1256) while he was at Calcutta in the service of the Honourable East India Company which did so much for the advancement of Arabic and other learning in India during its régime. He came of a family which originally belonged to Hamadān, and after some vicissitudes settled in Yaman. His father went to India to join his paternal uncle who had previously settled in Banāwas, but before he reached India the uncle died and he, being disappointed at this sad news, and also at the unkind treatment he received from his cousins, went to Lucknow, where the Nawwab Āḡaf al Dawlah showered royal favours on him. After staying for some time at Lucknow he went back to the Yaman, and on his way at Hudaydah he married the daughter of a Sayyid, the issue of which marriage was our author. His early days were passed at Hudaydah where he studied various branches of learning. Subsequently he came to Calcutta and was employed as a teacher of Arabic in the College of Fort William. After some time he resigned his post and went to Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar of Lucknow, who showed him great favour. After the death of the Nawwāb, he visited several cities of India, and at last he died at Puna, in 1256. He wrote a number of prose works, interspersed with verse. Though his birthplace was Yaman the field of his literary activities was chiefly India.

The merits of these selections have been fully recognised by the contemporaries of the editor as well as by later scholars. They are regarded as a useful text-book for the study of Arabic literature (in its special sense) in all the old-fashioned schools, and also in some new institutions. It is divided into five chapters. The first is devoted to short stories and literary anecdotes; the second comprises two literary debates: one between the rose and narcissus and the other between the physician and the astrologer; the third is a poetical selection containing many poems and panegyrics, among which we find a qasīdah of our great Indian poet Āzād; the fourth contains four Lāmiyyah qaṣā'id, and the fifth is a collection of proverbs, maxims, aphorisms, etc.

The other selection that may be mentioned here is one made by Muḥammad Husayn Khān of Shahjahānpūr (d. 1276), under the title of RIYĀṢ AL FIRDĀWĪ. It is a large compendium divided in the first place into three sections, Arabic, Persian and Urdu. We are here concerned with the first one, which is again divided into two large chapters, the first dealing with poetry and the second with prose. The first chapter is further split up into five sub-chapters. The first contains letters of eminent scholars, of whom five are Indian; the second is a learned treatise by Al-Buyūṭī on various problems of orthography, grammar, rhetoric, etc.; the third comprises selections from standard books on various branches of Islamic learning - of which the treatise on ṡūfīism is by an Indian ṡūfī named Shaykh Faḡl Allāh of Burhānpūr; the fourth contains treatises on sciences such as logic, philosophy, arithmetic, geometry, medicine and anatomy, of which treatises, one, on logic is by an Indian scholar 'Abd al-Ḥaqq; and the fifth consists of selections connected with such topics as the rules of debating and study, Taqārīḡ, (literary appreciations) etc., among which are two Indian products. The vast scope that these selections cover makes them appear almost like an encyclopaedia. The merits of this compendium

may be judged from the fact that scholars such as Sa'd Allāh Murādābādī, Turāb 'Alī and Nawwāb ḡiddīq Ḥasan Khān have spoken of it in high terms.

It is true that the making of selections is no work of originality: selections are after all selections, that is to say, the work of others and not of the compiler himself. Yet it enables one to judge of the ability and taste of the compiler, just as Al-Tibrīzī has said of Abū Tammām, the famous compiler of the best-known Arabic anthology, *Ḥamāsah*, that he has manifested greater ability and finer taste as a maker of these selections than as a poet.

III. LETTERS AND COMPOSITION CONCERNING CORRESPONDENCE.

The compiler of the *NAḤḤAT AL YAMAN* composed also a book entitled '*UJB AL 'UJĀB FĪ MĀ YUḤIDAL-KUTTĀB*', which is an introduction to the art of letter writing, being a collection of letters on various subjects. In presenting this work to the public the author has spared no pains to render it consonant with its title. He hopes that by his employers it will be considered as a proof of his zeal for the advancement of the Arabic language. This book is divided into three parts: the first deals with the correspondence of men of letters; the second with that of *Sulṭāns*, *Wazīrs* and *Qāḍīs*; and the last with that of merchants. The appendix, which is in itself a fourth part, is a copious collection of family letters and notes on the occasions of every day - all that loose texture of composition which is so natural in common life. The letters contained in the first part are those that passed between the author and his friends. They are in ornate and flowery prose, there being no subject matter beyond the acknowledgment of a letter or the expression of feelings of love and affection to the addressee. These letters are written in so artificial and pedantic a style that they seem

designed for the display of the writer's ability and penmanship rather than for any other purpose. One of these letters is written to Shāh 'Abd al-'Āzīz of Delhi. It is written in a beautiful and elegant style, but the reply is in a style more beautiful still. The original letter also contains a MIMIYYAH panegyric in praise of the addressee, Shāh 'Abd al-'Āzīz, who in reply composed a NUNIYYAH QASĪDAH which, being in praise of the Prophet deals with a nobler theme and is of sweeter melody. In the prose portion of his letter, the Shāh has given a vivid and pathetic description of the illness from which he was suffering at the time of replying to the letter. He also records his appreciation of Ahmad Yamani's poem (written in his praise), and the only defect he detects in it is that it was composed in praise of a person (meaning himself) who was not worthy of its contents. This work is interesting, and the first of its kind in India.

IV. BELLES LETTRES AND ARTIFICIAL COMPOSITION.

The tendency of the Indian mind towards artificiality, both in prose and poetry, has already been discussed at some length in connection with the two qur'ānic commentaries, SAWĀṬI' AL ILHAM and JUBB SHAGHAB, in which the authors have skilfully maintained throughout the extremely artificial style of avoiding dotted and undotted letters, respectively. Apart from these two books, the following three works of a different nature may be noticed under the present head:-

1. MAWĀRID AL KILAM WA SILK DURAR AL HIKAM, by the celebrated Shaykh Abū 'l Fayḍ Fayḍī, the author of the SAWĀṬI'. From the standpoint of the subject matter, this book might have been counted among the works on ḡufīsm and ethics, but in consideration of the style maintained throughout it falls under the present category. In this work the author, as in the case of the SAWĀṬI', has avoided dotted letters and made use of undotted letters only. This work is divided into fifty sections called MAWRIDS, which cover a long range of ethical excellences.

The author has taken his subject matter from various sources and has reproduced them in his own way, maintaining the above mentioned figure of speech, called AL ṢAN'AT AL MUḤMĀLAH. The very title of the book is a chronogram indicating the date of its composition as 985 A.H. The author by writing this book has undoubtedly shown a wonderful command over the Arabic language and literature. As far as is known to the writer of the present dissertation, only in India have such attempts been made to compose a complete book illustrating this figure of speech. Muḥammad Ṣiddiq Lahori (d. 1192) is said to have written a biography of the Prophet maintaining throughout the Ṣan'at al Iḥmāl, and the author of the ḤADA'IQ AL ḤANAFIYYAH remarks that it is a greater credit to its author than the SAWĀTI' is to Fayḍī.⁽¹⁾ This work, unfortunately does not seem to exist in any of those libraries, the catalogues of which have been published. There exists, however, another work of the same peculiarity in the Rampur State Library. It is a commentary on the Sūrah Yūsuf by Ṣahibzādah 'Alī 'Abbas Khān, who flourished in the time of Nawwāb Kalb 'Alī Khān of Rampur. Another composition with the saliterary characteristic, entitled DURŪD GHĪYĀTHIYYAH has already been noticed in connection with works on ṣūfism and ethics.

To show the nature and scope of the work under consideration, a few quotations may be cited:- The first Mawrid is Mawrid al Islām, which runs as follows:-

(Say LĀ ILĀHA ILLA ALLAH, say your prayers, go round the Harem in its proper time, complete its ritual rites with the Iḥram and give alms to the needy as ordered. And this is Islām.) How skilfully he has mentioned the five principles without using any single dotted letter. Then he goes on to say something regarding each principle.

(1) Faqīr Muḥammad, Madā'iq, p. 451.

The next Mawrid is Mawrid al Qur'ān which runs:-

Then come Mawrids of 'Ilm al Kalām, or of Ādam, of Muḥammad, of the Companions of the Prophet, of his descendants, of saints, of kings, and then of moral virtues, each being treated in a separate Mawrid.

In the conclusion of his book the author has employed the reverse figure of speech, called ṢAN'AT AL MANQŪṬAH, which lies in avoiding undotted letters. This concluding portion is only two pages long, but being full of bombastic and uncommon words is very difficult to understand.

AL MAQĀMĀT AL HINDIYYAH, composed by Sayyid Abū Bakr b. Muḥsin Ba bud al-Alawī, on the lines of the previous works of similar nature. Nothing is known about the author except that he was an Arab and lived for a considerable time in India. The chronogram at the end indicates that the work was completed in 1128. (1)

The reason for the composition of the book is mentioned in the brief preface, where we are told that one day the author went out for an excursion in a mixed company of educated and uneducated persons, taking with him the MAQĀMĀT of Ḥarīrī and Badi'. When he sat down to recite one of them, those who were not well versed in the Arabic language and literature naturally did not like the reading, whereupon some of those present suggested to the author that he should write a book in imitation of these works but in an easy and simple style such as might be comprehended without reference to lexicons. The author having realised the value of such a work, at once took up this literary enterprise and soon finished it. It

(1) The author of the Mu'jam al-Matbu'āt says that the author died about 523 (p. 322), which is obviously a misprint for 1235.

consists of fifty Maqāmāt each named after some Indian town, e.g. Sūratiyyah, Ahmādnagariyyah, Lāhūriyyah, etc. The narrator is 'Abu 'l-Nāḡir b. Fattāḥ who narrates the adventures and feats of Abū 'l-Muḡaffar al-Hindī - these two characters play the same part as those of 'Isā b. Hishām and Abū Zayd respectively in MAQĀMĀT AL ḤARĪRĪ. The nature of the theme is almost the same as those of Ḥarīrī and Badī'. An instance or two may be given here.

The purport of the MAQĀMĀT AL SŪRATIYYAH is as follows:- The narrator, Abu' al-Nāḡir says that, being attracted by a beautiful description of India he went to that country and landed at Sūrāt, where he enjoyed his visit very much. One day, while walking in the city, he met a man who took him to the court of a minister and introduced him as a poet and scholar, praising him so eloquently and elegantly that the minister was much pleased with the newcomer and ordered a rich reward and a robe of honour to be given to him. All these things were received by the stranger and then they both left the minister's house. Out of this reward and gift, the stranger gave our friend very little, saying that he should wait till he (the stranger) returned from the adjacent house, into which he at once disappeared. Our friend waited and waited in vain, but the man did not come back again. The visitor enquired about the stranger and to his surprise he was told that he was no other than Abū 'l-Zafar al-Hindī.

In the Maqāmāh of Ahmādnagar, Abu 'l-Nāḡir relates that one day, as he was passing through a certain street, he came across a well where a beautiful woman was drawing water. Feeling thirsty, he asked for water. After quenching his thirst while he was having a talk with the woman, there appeared a man who wanted to take her away with him. She refused to go, and cried for help. Abū 'l Nāḡir intervened between them. The stranger claimed that she was his wife and had run away from him - a statement which at first the woman denied but

afterwards admitted. She said, "Well, I am ready to follow you, but you must give me something to eat," to which the claimant replied that he was very poor and had no money with him. "Then why do you not borrow some money from a gentleman?" rejoined the wife. But the suggestion was rejected by the cunning husband, and our narrator was so much touched by the quarrel which ensued that he felt constrained to give them something from his own pocket. Abū 'l Nāṣir, overheard them saying as they went away, "What a nice plan we devised!" and carefully observing the man, discovered that he was Abū 'l Zafar.

The style of the book is neither bombastic nor elaborate but simple and easy. This work was not known to Mr. Chenery, the translator of the MAQAMĀT AL ḤARĪRIYYAH, though he gave in his introduction a list of other similar works written before or after these assemblies. No European library seems to contain any MS of it. It has been lithographed more than once in India and India Office Library possesses a copy.

3. AL MANĀQIB AL ḤAYDARIYYAH, composed by Ahmad b. Muḥammad Yamani already noticed. This work was, as indicated by its title, dedicated to Ghāzī al-Dīn Ḥaydar, King of Oudh, at whose court the author spent some time, enjoying the generous hospitality of his royal host and patron. When the author went back to Calcutta, he wrote the present work in recognition of the kindness he had received. This book is divided into eight chapters:-

- | | |
|------------|--|
| Chapter I. | An account of the king's clemency and forbearance. |
| " II. | An account of his generosity. |
| " III. | An account of his accession to the throne, and of his bravery. |
| " IV. | An account of his religious practices and eloquence. |
| " V. | An account of his minister. |
| " VI. | Accounts of his palaces. |

Chapter VII. Accounts of his gardens.

" VIII. An account of his miracles.

In addition to the above-mentioned matters, the book is full of entertaining digressions, both literary and historical. It has been composed from beginning to end on the principle of
(that is to say, one topic leads to another).

For instance, while speaking of the king's generosity, he says the king is more generous than the Barmakid princes, and then gives a short but interesting account of this house. Or, when speaking of his eloquence, he mentions some noted essayists and elegant writers and gives accounts of them. In this connection he refers to a letter addressed to ḡalāḥ al-Dīn by his minister, and then he gives a sketch of the Ayyūbid dynasty. Then he mentions several kings and rulers who were well-versed in the art of composition and literature. While describing the royal palaces at Lucknow, he makes mention of some of the celebrated and wonderful buildings and cities of the world.

While digressing on a cat, he gives an interesting story, which of course is not a new one, of a Bedouin who had never seen a cat until he happened to get hold of one. While he was taking it away in his arms, he met another Bedouin who said, "What will you do with this *Simawr* (cat)?" He had scarcely gone a few steps further when another man asked him what he would do with the *qitt*. To be brief, in a short time the Bedouin met seven men who put to him the same question, but each used a different word for the cat. The Bedouin thought that the little animal must be very precious, and so he took it to the market for sale. People asked him the price, to which he replied "One hundred Dirhams." Then they laughed and said that it was not worth even one Dirham. The Bedouin, disillusioned, threw away the cat, saying

"God's curse; how many names, and how small a price!"

While describing the royal gardens, the author has not merely mentioned all the fruits and flowers, but has also given

appropriate Arabic couplets in praise of each of them. While describing the elephants and horses of the king, he has given a curious account of an elephant. He says that one of the royal elephants had been so trained that during the first ten days of Muharram he used to weep and lament the death of the Prophet's grandson like a man. Then the author cites a small Arabic poem which he puts in the mouth of the dumb animal. This poem is so skilfully worded that it really resembles the shriek of an elephant. This poem runs as follows:-

The author's curious interpretation of the elephant's shriek reminds the reader of a similar but more successful attempt on the part of the greatest Persian poet of India, Khusraw, who being asked what the sound produced by the carding instrument while working meant, said extempore:-

Thus every chapter of the book is full of interesting digressions, included on the plea of being slightly connected with the main theme, so making the book both entertaining and profitable.

V. COMMENTARIES ON STANDARD LITERARY WORKS.

Under this head there may be mentioned at least one work which is of some importance. It is a copious commentary entitled MUṢADDIQ AL FAPL, on the well-known qasīdah Bānat Su'ād, composed by Shihāb al-Dīn Dawlatābādī, whose works on Arabic grammar have already been noticed.

On this qasīdah several scholars, such as Muwaffaq al-Dīn 'Abd al-Laṭīf (d. 629), Ibn Hishām (d. 761), Ibrāhīm al-

Lakḥmī (790) and Sayūfī (911) wrote commentaries and super-commentaries, and the present commentary is an attempt by an Indian.

The commentator begins with a short account of the poet and his poetical talents. Then he takes up the poem, couplet by couplet, and comments upon it in a very elaborate and detailed manner, under eight heads:-

- | | | | |
|------|-----------------|-------|-------------------------|
| I. | <u>Lughat</u> , | V. | <u>Bayān</u> , |
| II. | <u>Ṣarf</u> , | VI. | <u>Badī'</u> , |
| III. | <u>Maḥw</u> , | VII. | <u>'Arūd</u> , |
| IV. | <u>Ma'ānī</u> , | VIII. | <u>Ḥāṣil</u> (purport). |

While commenting on the first couplet, he has added one more head, viz. qawāfī, and this explanation, once given here, applies equally to all the remaining couplets and needs no repetition or addition.

To maintain this profoundly elaborate and detailed way of commenting throughout the poem was no easy task. Yet we find that our author has done it, and done it successfully.

VI. LEGENDARY WORKS.

Under this head reference may be made to a fabulous account of the first settlement of the Muslims in Malabar, under the king Shakrūtī of Cranganore, a contemporary of the Prophet, who was converted to Islām by the miracle of the splitting of the moon. The name of the author is not known, but this much is almost certain, that he was an Indian, because other works written about Malabar, such as TUḤFAT AL MUJĀHIDĪN and AL FATH AL MUBĪN LI AL SĀMIRI, above-mentioned, were composed by natives of that country. Moreover, the subject matter is such that only a resident of Malabar is likely to have dealt with it.

The legend is briefly as follows:-

When the verse WA ANDHUR 'ASHIRATAKA AL AQRABĪN was revealed to the Prophet, he gathered his relatives and friends

together and invited them to accept Islām, whereupon a few persons embraced the new religion, but the others turned their backs upon him and determined to prevent him from preaching his new doctrines. These unbelievers at last went to a certain Arab king of Madīnah, named Habīb b. Mālik, and besought his help against the heresy of the new prophet. Thereupon the king, with an army of four thousand horsemen, left for Makkah, and encamped in the vicinity of the town. The king told the complainants that he thought it better first to ask Muḥammad to perform an impossible miracle. So Muḥammad was sent for, but as he was about to leave his house, the angel Gabriel came to him and informed him of the exact state of affairs. Then, having thus a complete knowledge of what was going to happen, he went to the king who, in spite of his dignity and splendour, could not refrain from standing up, to show respect to the Prophet when he entered his court. After some preliminary conversation, the king asked him to perform the following miracle: "To-day," he said, "the fifth of the lunar month, the full moon must rise from behind the mountain of Abū Qays, speak eloquently of your being a prophet, then descend from the sky, enter your right sleeve and go out by your left, then to be divided into two halves, one half going to the east and the other to the west, and lastly join together again in the centre of the sky." When the miracle was performed by the Prophet exactly as requested, the king with his army embraced Islām and went back to his kingdom.

This miracle was, on this very night, observed by a king of India named Shakrūtī, who collected his soothsayers and astronomers and gave them forty days in which to explain this phenomenon. When this period was over and no one could throw any light upon the matter, the king beheld the Prophet in a dream, and he explained everything to the entire satisfaction of the king. This dream caused the Indian king to become a sincere lover of the Prophet. Meanwhile, some Jews and Christians of Makkah and some Muslim travellers who were going on pil-

grimage to Mount Adam, reached the capital of the king Shākṛutī. All of them bore testimony to the splitting of the moon. When the Muslim pilgrims returned from Ceylon to their own country, the king secretly went with them to Makkah, met the Prophet, and embraced Islām. The Prophet named him Sulṭān Taj al-Dīn al Hindī. When the news of his arrival and conversion to Islām reached the king Ḥabīb b. Mālik, he went to visit the Indian convert and the two kings formed a strong friendship. Afterwards they decided to go to India, but when the royal party reached the port of Shihr, the Indian king fell seriously ill, but while he was dying, he urged his companions not to give up the idea of going on to India. He wrote them some letters of introduction and recommendation to his ministers and courtiers; and after his death the party proceeded to India, where they were cordially received and granted every facility.

CHAPTER XII.ARABIC POETRY IN INDIA.

Many Indians have written Arabic verse, but since Arabic poetry, even in Arabic-speaking countries, had lost its glory and sublimity by the time that Arabic studies commenced in India, the Arabic poets of this country cannot be expected to display poetical genius of a high order. The best among them are merely elegant artists playing beautifully with words, and achieving nothing more.

Arabic poetry, like Persian, has generally thrived under the patronage of rulers and princes. The Indian Muslim kings were Persian-speaking people, and were naturally more interested in Persian poetry. Hence Arabic poetry did not receive any patronage and impetus from the courts of the ruling houses in Northern India, and though the courts of Gujarāt and the Deccan attracted many poets and scholars from Arabia, yet in the first place their number was small as compared with that of the poets and scholars who came from Persia and, in the second place, their literary activities were limited and did not enjoy any particular amount of patronage. It is to be regretted that owing to the lack of interest in such Arabic poetry as was produced, only a few names of such poets have come down to us. Historians simply say that these courts contained several Arabian poets and scholars, but do not give their names or any account of them.

The 'AYDARŪS family of Ahmadābād, being in constant touch with South Arabia attracted several scholars and poets from Arabia during the early days of their settlement in Ahmadābād. The Nūr al-Sāfir contains short accounts of such poets, but their sojourn in India was temporary only. Malabar, in which Arabic for some time had the same supremacy as Persian in Northern India, must have produced some poets; but no mention is to be found except of Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-

'Aziz, the brother of Zayn al-Dīn, author of the *Tuhfat al-Mujāhidīn*, who composed a *Mathnawī* in Arabic, entitled "*Al-Fath al-Mubin Li'l Samirī Alladhī Yuhibb al-Muslimin*." This work will be reviewed later on.

There were other Arabic poets too who settled in India, e.g. Ibn Ma'sūm, his father Hizām, Hasan b. Shadgan, the author of the *Zahr al-Riyād*, mentioned above, and his sons - all of them attached to one or other court in the Deccan or Gujarāt. The *Sulāfat al-Āsr*, already noticed, contains short biographical accounts of them as well as some extracts from their poetry. Some notice will be made of the most important of them in chronological order.

The earliest of them is Mas'ūd b. Sa'd b. Salmān, better known as a Persian than an Arabic poet. His ancestors were residents of Hamadan, but his father was for sixty years in the service of the kings of Ghazna, and had acquired possession of many farms and estates in Lahore and other parts of India. Mas'ūd was born and brought up at Lahore. (1) Besides Persian, he was well versed in Arabic and Hindi, and left a *Diwān* in each of these languages. (2) But it is to be regretted that his Arabic and Hindi *Diwāns* appear to have been lost. Wāṭwāṭ has cited a number of Mas'ūd's Arabic verses in his *Hadā'iq al-Sihr*.

Persian and Indian poets are very fond of using the figure of speech called "*Tawriyah*" or "*Ilhar*" which consists in the employment of two or more ambiguous terms, which at first sight appear to be used in one sense, though really they must be taken in quite a different meaning.

(1) For a critical and detailed account see Professor Browne's translation of Mirsā Muḥammad b. 'Abd-al-Wahhīd Qazwini's monograph on this poet, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1905, p. 693-740)

(2) Khusrāw
rat al-Kamāl.

Preface to his *Diwān Ghur-*

(1) *Sulāfat*, p. 27.

The following Qitta'h of Mas'ūd, cited by Waṭwāṭ, contains this figure of speech: (1)

(I have seen many a night when the sun seemed to have lost its way and to be unable to return to the East and the darkness was just as if the crows were falling down from the sky upon the eye.

I said to my heart "the night has been long and there is no escape for me from my grief and patience is my only recourse." I see that the false dawn is visible on the horizon. Is it then possible for the sun to rise?)

Here the beauty lies in the employment of two ambiguous words, which means "false dawn" and "the wolf's tail", and which means both "the sun" and "the deer".

The poet says that it is impossible for the sun (for which he uses the word meaning also "deer") to appear when the false dawn (for which he employs the term signifying also "the wolf's tail") is still visible.

Next comes the greatest Persian poet that India has ever produced, Khusrāw. His reputation depends entirely upon his Persian poems, yet he used to versify in Arabic also. Arabic verses occur here and there in his *I'jāz -i-Khusrāwī* noticed in the last chapter but one. We also find some Arabic odes in his *Diwāns*. His *Khazā'in al-Futūh* also contains scattered verses in Arabic. We have already noticed that he was fond of rhetorical devices and that he himself invented several. He composed one poem in which the first hemistich of each couplet is in Persian and the second in Arabic. In the preface of his *Diwān* entitled "*Ḥamrat al-Kasāl*" he admits

(1) Subhah, p. 27.

that he is not a good Arabic poet, but at the same time mentions Mawlānā Shihāb al-Dīn as a great Indian Arabic poet, whose poetry, he declares, surpassed that of Farazdaq and Jarīr. Of this Shihāb al-Dīn of whom Amīr Khusrāw formed so high an opinion, very little is known. Shibli has made mention of him in his Shi'r al-'Ajam as the teacher of Amīr Khusrāw.⁽¹⁾

Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn, styled Chirāgh-i-Dihlawī, the disciple of the famous Indian saint Mīrām al-Dīn Awliyā, was an eminent Arabic scholar, and used to versify in that language. The following couplet of his in praise of his teacher, Shams al-Dīn Yahyā of Udh, is much appreciated in India.⁽²⁾

(I asked Knowledge, "Who has revived thee?" Knowledge replied: "Shams al-Dīn Yahyā.")

There is a pun upon the word "Yahyā" which, if read "Yahyī" means revives, a translation which is also applicable here.

Qāḍī 'Abd al-Muqtadīr, the pupil of the same Chirāgh-i-Dihlawī and the teacher of Shihāb al-Dīn Daulatābādī was a distinguished scholar and a good Arabic poet. His Qasīdat-al-Lāmiyyah, composed in imitation of the Lāmiyyat al-'Ajam, is admired for the elegance of its style, the beauty of the introductory lines, the appropriateness of the Makhlās and the fertility of its imagination. The first couplet of this qasīdah is

(O thou who drivest the Camel-litters morning and evening,
greet the camping-ground of Salma and weep and then ask)

It has already been stated that Indian poets are very fond of using figures of speech. This qasīdah is full of them. The very first couplet, just cited, contains the following four figures:

(1) Shibli, Shi'r al-'Ajam II. Amīr Khusrāw's account.

(2) Subhān, p. 29.

1. Tajnīs Zā'id between "Sallīm" and "Salmā"; and between "Sali" and "Salmā".
2. Murā'at al-Naxīr throughout.
3. San'at-al-Ishiq between "Sallīm" and "Salmā".
4. San'at-i-Tadādd between "Ashār" (mornings) and "Uḡul" (evenings)

The poet, in the manner of a true Arab poet, first asks the Camel-driver to greet the camping-ground of his beloved and weep over it, and then to enquire about the beautiful damsel and the kings who have passed away. Then he turns to a love-theme and speaks of the beauties and charms of his beloved who is inaccessible, being guarded by brave swordsmen and lancers. But somehow or other he gains access to her and she is surprised to see him and asks him how he managed to avoid the guards. He replies that he is not an ordinary man but a king who always chases tigers and lions. Thereupon his beloved yields and says that she is at his mercy and is unable to resist such a warrior. But the poet rejects her offer and replies that he belongs to that class of people who are pious and chaste. Then after praising the Muslim community, he turns towards the Prophet.

His similes are often very apt. One or two couplets from this very qaṣīdah may be cited here.

(My beloved is miserly about allowing her lover to enjoy communion with her).

The poet appreciates this attitude on her part and adds that -

(Generosity in a beautiful woman is as undesirable as miserliness in a man.)

(1) Būḥār, 33.

(2) The vision of the beloved in the mind of a man who longs to visit her, is sweeter than safety to one who is in fear and dread.)

Ahmad of Thānassar who flourished about the end of the eighth and the beginning of the ninth century was an eminent scholar and a good poet. Timūr, having heard of his erudition, wanted him to accompany him when he left India, but Ahmad was unwilling to leave his native country. ⁽¹⁾ His *Qasīdat al-Dāliyyah* in praise of the Prophet has been much admired. He connects the customary introductory love-theme with the main purpose of his poem by saying:-

"Cease to talk of Laylā and her maidens and turn to the Prophet" - etc. etc.

Shah Ahmad Shar'ī (d. 928 A.H.) of Chāndīri (in Mālwah) used also to compose verses in Arabic. ⁽²⁾ Two couplets composed in reply to those of Zamakhsharī in his satire on the Ash'arites, are worthy of notice:

(I marvel at tyrannical (unreasonable) folk who call themselves men of "justice", though they have no knowledge of it at all. To them "justice" (since they do not understand it at all) means God's being deprived of His very essence and the annihilation of His attributes.)

Muhammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz Kalikūti of Malabar who flourished during the latter half of the tenth century of the Hijra was also a poet. Little is known of him except that he belonged to a learned family of Ma'bar. His brother Zayn al-Dīn was the author of the *Tuhfat al-Majāhidin* already noticed; his father, 'Abd-al-'Azīz, was a qādī. 'Alī Muttaqi is reported by 'Abd al-Haqq Haqqī in his *Akhbar al-Akhyār* to have met him and to have had a high opinion of him. ⁽³⁾ His grandfather was also a scholar and composed a treatise in

(1) Subha, 38.

(2) Rahīm 'Alī Tadhkirah, 84.

(3) 'Abd al-Haqq, *Akhbar al-Akhyār*, p. 268.

(2) Lathi's Introduction No. 1044, VI.

verse on ṣūfīsm, entitled Ḥidayat al-Adhkujā, already noticed. Our present poet versified the account of the struggles of the Zamorin of Calicut with the Portuguese under Vasco de Gama, in a fairly long poem consisting of five hundred and three Rajaz verses, under the title of Al Fath al-Jābin Li'l Ṣamīrī Allāhī Juhibb al Muṣliḥīn. The subject matter of this poem and of the Tahfāt al-Majāhidīn is the same, but the one is in verse and the other in prose. Both the brothers were contemporary with the events related. The India Office Library contains a unique MS of the poetical account.⁽¹⁾ In consideration of the subject matter, this work may not be of much value, but it is not without some poetical merit. The narrative from beginning to end is simple and elegant. A few couplets may be quoted here, to show the nature of the verses. After praise of God and the usual prayers for the Prophet, the poet continues:

Ḥayyid 'Abd al-Ḥakīm al-Ḥakīmī, who flourished in the time of Aurangzeb and was one of the great scholars, was a distinguished scholar and composed poems in four languages, Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Hindi. Ibn Khallūn, the author of the Ḥulūṣ, is reported to have said that he never saw a scholar so accomplished as he was in India. Ḥayyid 'Abd al-Ḥakīm, the greatest Arabic poet of India, speaks highly of his poetry.⁽²⁾ He was an expert in versifying chronograms. One of his ingenious chronograms is that which he composed on the conquest of the Fort al-Bastīn by Aurangzeb.

This is a wonderful story, giving an account of a strange war occurring in the land of Malabar (and the like of it never took place in that country) between the lover of the Muslims, the Zamorin, and his enemy, the Infidel Farangis. I have versified some part of it, by God, so that all kings may hear the story; so that they may, when they hear it, ponder over the war or may take a lesson, so that the story

(1) Loth's Catalogue No. 1044, VI.

(2) Ibid. 80.

may go forth in all directions, especially to Syria and Mesopotamia, so that they may know of the courage of the king Zamorin, who is well known in all places, the ruler of the celebrated Kalikūt (may it ever remain prosperous by the grace of God). He loves our religion Islām and the Muslims among mortals. He protects our religion and puts our law into force, so much so that the Khutbah is read in the name of our Sulṭān.

Sayyid 'Alī Khaṇ Ibn Ma'sūm (1117), who has been referred to several times in the foregoing pages, was a good poet. His poem Al-Badi'iyah, giving examples of all possible rhetorical contrivances, is recognised to be a valuable contribution to Arabic treatises on rhetoric. The author also wrote a commentary on his own work. The Sulāfah contains some poems of his.

Sayyid 'Abd al-Jalīl Bilgrāmī (1128), who flourished in the time of Awrangzīb and five of his successors, was a distinguished scholar and composed verses in four languages, Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Hindi. Ibn Ma'sūm, the author of the Sulāfah, is reported to have said that he never saw a scholar so accomplished as he was in India. Qulām 'Alī Azād, the greatest Arabic poet of India, speaks highly of his poetry.⁽²⁾ He was an expert in versifying chronograms. One of his ingenious chronograms is that which he composed on the conquest of the fort Al-Sitārah by Awrangzīb.

This victory was gained by 'Alangir, in the year 1111. Now the poet says the year may be indicated by placing the top of one's thumb at the base of the little finger of the

(1) Subhah, 80.

(2) Ibid 80.

same hand. The four fingers stand for the four figures llll, and the thumb lying down, for the small dash generally written in place of the word 'year'. In Arabic writing the year llll is written . At the end the poet says that it is a bright hand which has been miraculously held up for the spectators.

He was a poet of fertile imagination, and his poetry is fanciful throughout. One or two examples may be given here: was also a fine poet and was fond of playing with words and phrases.

("The eyebrow of my beloved is like the letter 'MIM' and the form of his eye is like the letter written by Ibn Muqlah, the great calligrapher. The harmonious combination of the eyebrow and the eye, (that is of) is a Hagg (positive proof) of the fact that shooting glances is the right of his eye." The word , which means the eyeball, is associated with the other words. This is the reason why the poet has chosen the name of for this purpose.

(The teeth of my beloved are like the letter and his mouth like the rounded MIM. The combination of these two are (poison), but it is wonderful that the more I taste it (i.e. kiss his mouth and teeth) the more life do I gain."

(Again, the same word in the first hemistich means "mouth" and in the second means "in it".) In short, he was a clever poet and had a complete mastery over every figure of speech. Waṭṭāṣ says that a certain couplet by Badī' al-Zamān is so beautiful that no one could ever compose a verse to match it, but 'Abd al Jalīl succeeded in producing a couplet of the same type. The couplet by Al-Badī' is

(He is the full moon but at the same time a deep ocean;
he is a lion but at the same time a shower of rain.")

'Abd al-Jalīl's couplet :

("He is the pole-star but at the same time the rising moon;
he is Mars but at the same time auspicious.")

Sayyid Muḥammad (1153), the son of Sayyid 'Abd al-Jalīl, was also a fine poet and was fond of playing with words and phrases.

Bilgrām has produced many scholars and poets besides 'Abd al-Jalīl, e.g. S. Ṭafayl Muḥammad (d. 1151), S. Muḥammad Yūsuf (d. 1172), and S. Ḡulām 'Alī Azād (1200), of whom I shall speak later on.

In Delhi the family of Shāh Walī Allāh was noted for its Islāmic learning and also for Arabic poetry. He himself, his father 'Abd al-Rahīm, and his sons 'Abd al-Azīz and Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn, all used to compose Arabic verse. 'Abd al-Rahīm's poem in reply to that by Abū 'Alī Sīnā on "The Soul" is beautiful. Shāh Walī Allāh's Arabic panegyrics (in praise of the Prophet) with Persian commentaries by the same author, have been published and are much appreciated. Shāh 'Abd al-Azīz also sang the praises of the Prophet. Rafī' al-Dīn enlarged the poem of his grandfather on "The Soul" by adding three hemistiches more to every couplet.

Muḥammad Bāqir of Madras (d. 1220) left an Arabic *Diwān*; but I have failed to find a copy in any library. He was a prolific writer and left many works.

The most important Arabic poet of India is Ḡulām 'Alī Azād Bilgrāmī, of whom a short biographical sketch has already been given. Just as Amīr Khusrāw enjoys the reputation of being the greatest Persian poet of India, Azād holds a similar place in respect of Arabia. But while it may be said of Amīr Khusrāw that he was not an Indian in the strict sense of the

word, as his father only went to India from Persia, Āzād was entirely Indian, as his ancestors had migrated to India several generations back.

Āzād left seven *Diwāns*, styled *Ḥab'ah Sayyārah*, containing poems of all kinds. He composed a large number of panegyrics in praise of the Prophet, and collected these poems in a separate book with the title "*Tasliyat al Fuwād*". It contains about three thousand couplets. He has rightly won the title of "*Ḥassān al-Hind*", as compared with *Ḥaṣṣānī*, who is known as "*Ḥassān al 'Ajam*."

That the poetry of Āzād has not received general recognition outside India, is due to the conditions of the times in which he lived. Communications and interchange of literary products between India and Egypt or Arabia were not easy, as between Persia and India in the days of *Khusrāw*. Moreover, every country has its own prejudice against the poetry produced by foreigners in its own language. Persians, for instance, will not recognise the worth and merit of Persian poetry produced by foreigners, and *Amīr Khusrāw* and *Faydī* do not enjoy the same amount of appreciation and admiration in Persia as they do in India or Turkey. Yet when the panegyrics of Āzād reached the scholars at *Madīnah*, they appreciated them and presented them to the Sanctuary. When 'Abd al-Wahhāb *'antāwī*, an eminent man of letters in *Makkah*, with whom our poet read *Ḥadīth*, heard his pupil's *qasā'id*, he much appreciated them, and when he learnt the meaning of his poetical name, Āzād said at once

(Sir, you are one of those whom God has set free.)

Āzād was a born poet and had a fine taste for poetry. He composed poems in Persian also. He is the author of two Persian books on Persian poets which are much appreciated and used by scholars. It is rather strange that Brockelmann's great history of Arabic literature contains no reference whatsoever to him or his work, although he mentions several Indian

authors. Perhaps it may be due to the fact that he had not come across any work by Āzād. His *Bubha al-Marjūn*, which is the first book of its kind, was lithographed in Bombay as early as 1835. This book has already been noticed.

Āzād wrote a long poem of 105 couplets, entitled *Mir'āt al-Jamāl*, describing and praising all the parts of the body - from the head to the foot of the beloved, two couplets being devoted to each and every part. Hawwāb Siddiq Hasan, a prolific writer and a learned scholar (d. 1890) who reproduced this poem in his *Nashwat al-Sakarān*, says that Āzād was the first poet to compose this sort of poem in Arabic. Of course, solitary couplets in praise of some parts of the beloved's body are found more or less in the poetry of every poet. But just as *ḡafīyy al-Ḥn Hillī* was the first poet to compose a *Ḥadī'īyyah*, though solitary examples of the figures of speech had been in existence for a long time, so Āzād's *Mir'āt al-Jamāl* is the first poem of its kind. Āzād himself says that he laid the foundation and started the building. Whosoever came after him would simply add to the edifice. But no one, says Hawwāb Siddiq Hasan, has so far added anything to it. A few couplets from this poem may be cited here, to show the nature of the poem and also to point out the peculiarities of Āzād's poetry.

Beauty in general.

My beloved is as beautiful as a gazelle of the valley of
Abraq al-Hannān (noted for the beauty of its inhabitants)
 who is like unto her in this world?
 The sun that boasts of its light is a maid-servant to her,
 and the other stars are her pages.

(A Lock of Hair)

Are they two locks of hair on the whiteness of her cheeks, or two marginal columns on the book of beauty, or two Nights of the two 'Id Festivals that come together, or are they two of the Seven Panegyrics (hung on the Ka'bah)?

In the last hemistich, the face of the beloved has been compared to the Ka'bah which the Muslims venerate.

(Forehead)

How beautifully her forehead shines in the darkness! God has bestowed on it a lofty place.

Though it (the forehead) is one-half of the full moon, yet it is above the two full moons (i.e. cheeks) in brightness.

(Eyebrow)

Look at her eyebrows and understand their nature. They are two curved branches at the centre of the Bān tree, or two infidels consulting together in order to frustrate our hopes.

(One of the meanings of Kufr is "darkness", hence the two eyebrows are compared to two Kāfirs.)

speech, as has already been pointed out. He also composed a *Ras̄d-i-ʿayyāh*.
(Iye.)

3. Before Āzād Hindī and Sanskrit poetry never influenced Arabic poetry. During Akbar's time there had been one poet who used to compose Arabic verses to Hindī metres, but that was quite a different thing. Perhaps it was thought for some moment and not as a serious literary effort. Āzād introduced Hindī and Sanskrit metres into his poetry. He also made use of some Hindī and Sanskrit figures of speech in his Arabic verse.

In short, these fifty stanzas, each consisting of two couplets, contain a poetical and fanciful description of fifty parts of the beloved's body, and the remaining five couplets form the conclusion of the poem. In this conclusion he gives the date of the composition (namely 1187) and claims originality for the poem, saying:-

(We have not heard a similar poem from any poet. Āzād is the inventor of this charming form.)

PECULIARITIES OF AZAD'S POETRY.

1. An abundance of a form of fancy and imagination that is foreign to a genuinely Arabian poet. Āzād's poetry deviates from the poetry of the pre-Islāmic Arabs and of the poets of the early Islāmic period in the same way as Mutanabbī's poetry does. At the time of Mutanabbī Persian poetry had not fully developed, and so his poetry was much less influenced by the Persian mind than was Āzād's Arabic poetry, with the result that Āzād's poetry is richer in fancy and imagination, though poorer in poetical power and linguistic merits than Mutanabbī's.
2. Āzād is very fond of using figures of speech and rhetorical devices. This tendency is to a great extent an Indian characteristic. Amīr Khusrāw also had the same taste. His *Ijāh-i-Khusrāwī* and *Qirān al-Sa'dayn* are more or less rhetorical products. Āzād himself introduced several figures of

speech, as has already been pointed out. He also composed a *Badf'iyyah*.

3. Before *Āzād* Hindi and Sanskrit poetry never influenced Arabic poetry. During Akbar's time there had been one poet who used to compose Arabic verses to Hindi metres, but that was quite a different thing. Perhaps it was meant for amusement and not as a serious literary effort. *Āzād* introduced Hindi and Sanskrit similes into his poetry. He also made use of some Hindi and Sanskrit figures of speech in his Arabic verses. Examples have already been given in the account of his *Subhat al-Marjān*.

4. *Āzād* composed Arabic poems in all the forms of Persian poetry. In his poetry we find many examples of *Rubā'ī*, *Mathnawī*, *Mustazād*, etc. Arabic *Urjūzah* *Muzdawijag* corresponds to Persian *Mathnawī* as far as the question of rhyming is concerned; but in respect of metres they differ from each other. *Āzād* introduced the metres of Persian *Mathnawī* to Arabian *Muzdawijah*, and composed *Mathnawīs* in Arabic.

5. At the end the titles of all the Indian works are arranged in alphabetical order, followed by the names of the authors.

6. The system of transliteration of Oriental names and words is that recommended by the Royal Asiatic Society and used by Prof. Nicholson, viz.:-

١. *Alif* is transliterated by 'a' and 'ā' respectively.

The final 'a' which is generally omitted has been restored throughout, and the vowel sounds which are commonly represented by 'ai' and 'au' have been transliterated by 'ay' and 'aw' respectively.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE LIST OF ARABIC WORKS WRITTEN IN INDIA OR
BY INDIANS

1. The list is divided under the same eleven headings as the main part of the thesis.
2. Under each head authors are arranged chronologically according to the dates of their death or the period in which they flourished. The names of those authors whose date could not be ascertained are given at the end of each chapter under the sub-heading "works of unknown dates".
3. After the name of each author, the sources for his biography are given, accompanied by cross-references to the different sections under which other works of his are mentioned. Biographical authorities of an author are given only in that section in which his work is mentioned for the first time. In subsequent sections references only are given.
4. In each section the works of an author have been arranged under three heads: A, B and C. Under A only printed works are given, with indications of libraries in which MSS of these works may be found. Under B only such MSS are mentioned as are not known to me to have been published. Under C those works are mentioned the titles of which have come down to us but no copies are known to exist.
5. At the end the ~~the~~ titles of all the Indian works are arranged in alphabetical order, followed by the names of the authors.

The system of transliteration of Oriental names and words is that recommended by the Royal Asiatic Society and used by Prof. Nicholson, viz:-

ث: th; ج: j; ح: h; خ: kh; د: dh; ذ: z; ش: sh; ص: s; ض: d; ط: t; ظ: z;
ق: q; ك: kh; گ: g; ف: f

The final h which is generally omitted has been restored throughout, and the vowel sounds which are commonly represented by ai and ou have been transliterated by ay and aw respectively.

LIST OF

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE APPENDIX ONLY

(N.B. The titles, etc. of books quoted once only are given in full wherever they occur.)

ABJAD : Abjad al-'ulum by Nawwab Siddiq Hasan Khan.

AIN-i-AKBARI: by Abu 'l Fadl , edited by Blochmann

AKHBAR: Akhbar al-akhyar by 'Abd al-Haqq Haqqi of Delhi,
Mujtaba i Press Delhi 1309.

AKHBAR -i-NUHAT: by Wakil Ahmad

BADA UNI: Muntakhab al-tawarikh by Mulla 'Abd al-Qadir Bada uni
(Bibliotheca Indica)

BEALE: An Oriental Biographical Dictionary by Thomas William
Beale; new edition revised and enlarged by H.G. Keene.

BROCKELMANN: Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, two volumes,
by Dr. C. Brockelmann.

ELLIOT: History of India by Sir H.M. Elliot, edited by Pro.
J. Dawson.

FARHAT AL NAZIRIN: by Muhammad Aslam b. Muhammad Hafiz, published
in the Oriental Magazine of Lahore No. XIV.

AL FAWA ID AL BAHIIYYAH: Al-fawa id al-bahiyyah fi tarajim al-
Hanafiyyah by Muhammad 'Abd al-Hayy Lakhnawi
Lucknow.

FIRISHTAH: Ta rikh-i-Firishtah by Khwaj Qasim Firishtah .

HADA IQ: Hada iq al-Hanafiyyah by Faqir Muhammad Lahori, Lucknow.

HAYAT-WALI: by Muhammad Rahim Bakhsh , Delhi

HAYAT-i-JALIL: by S. Maqbul Ahmad, Allahbad 1928

ITHAF: Ithaf al-nubala bi-ihya ma athir al-fuqaha al-muhaddi-
thin, by Nawwab Siddiq Hasan Khan; Cawnpur

KHALIFAH: Kashf al-zunun.... by Hajji Khalifah

JURJI ZAYDAN: Ta rikh adab al-lughat al-'Arabiyyah
Jurji Zaydan; Cairo.

KASHF: Kashf al-hujub wa 'l-astar 'an asma al-kutub wa 'l-
asfar by I'jaz Husayn al-Kanturi (Bibliotheca Indica)

AL KAWAKIB AL SA IRAH: Al-kawakib al-sa irah bi manaqib a'yan
al-mi ah al-'ashirah by Najm al-Din M.b.M
(MS in British Museum)

AUTHORITIES AND ABBREVIATIONS (

ABJAD:

T I 2 1 O 2

MA ATHIR: Ma athir al-kiram by S. Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgrami
(MS in the British Museum)

MA ATHIR AL UMARA : by Shahnawaz Khan (Bibliotheca Indica)

MAHBUB: Mahbub al-albab fi ta'rif al-kutub wa 'l kuttab, by
Khuda Bakhsh, Haydarabad 1314

MUHIIBBI: Khulasat al-athar fi a'yan al-qarn al-hadi 'ashar, by
Muhammad Muhibbi.

MU'JAM or MU'JAM AL MATEBU'AT: by

MURADI: Silk al-durar fi a'yan al-qarn al-thani 'ashar, by
Muhammad Khalil Efendi Muradi.

NUJUM: Nujum al-Sama by Muhammad 'Ali Kashmiri.

AL NUR AL SAFIR: Al-nur al-safir 'an akhbar al-qarn al-'ashir
by 'Abd al-Qadir al-'Aydarus (MS in the British
Museum)

RAWDAT AL ABRAR: by Muhammad Abu 'l-Hasan known as Muhammad al-
Din Qadiri of Lahore, Jihlam 1885

SAFINAT AL-AWLIYA : by Dara Shukuh

SUBHAN: Subhat al-marjan fi athar Hindustan by S. Ghulam 'Ali
Azad

TABAQAT: Tabaqat-i-Shahjahanī by Muhammad Sadiq (MS in the Bri
tish Museum)

TADHKIRAH: Tadhkirah-i-ulama -i-Hind by Rahman 'Ali ,Lucknow
1914.

TAJALLI: Tajalli-i-nur ma'ruf bi Tadhkirah-i-Mashahir -i-
Jawnpur b. S. Nur al-Din Zaydi Part II.

TARAB AL AMATHIL: Tarab al-amathil fi tarajim al-afadil by
Muhammad 'Abd al-Hayy Lakhnawi

TA RIQH-I-FARRUKHABAD: by Muhammad Wali Allah (MS in Bri.Mus.)

WUESTENFELD: Die Geschichte Schreiber by Wuestenfeld.

Other abbreviations are either obvious or those adopted
by Brockelmann in his great history of Arabic literature
and by Dr. Storey in his Persian literature.

ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR THE CATALOGUES OF DIFFERENT LIBRARIES
AND COLLECTIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS

- ASAFIYYAH:** Fihrist-i- Kutub Khanah-i-Asafiyyah, Haydarabad.
- BANKIPUR:** Catalogue of the Arabic MSS at Bankipur.
- BENGAL:** Catalogue of the Arabic books and MSS in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, compiled by Ashraf Ali.
- BENGAL I:** List of Arabic and Persian MSS acquired by the A.S. of Bengal during 1903-7.
- BENGAL II:** List ofdo.....during 1908-10.
- BRI. MUS.:** Catalogues of the Arabic books in the British Museum.
- BUHAR:** Catalogue ~~afutuh al-rahman~~ Raisonne of the Buhar Library Vol. II. Arabic MSS.
- CALCUTTA:** Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian MSS in the Library of the Calcutta Madrasah by Kamal al-Din and 'Abd al-Muqtadir.
- DELHI:** Manuscript catalogue of Arabic Delhi MSS in the India Office Library.
- INDIA OFFICE:** The 2nd volume of the catalogue of the Arabic MSS in the India Office Library (in preparation by Mr. C.A.Storey)
- LOTH:** Catalogue of the Arabic MSS in the India Office Library compiled by Dr. Loth.
- MAHBUB:** Mahbub al-albab fi ta'rif al-kutub wa 'l-kuttab by Khuda Bakhsh (A catalogue of his private Library; new at Bankipur)
- MIPTAH:** Bankipur Arabic MSS Hand List, entitled MIPTAH AL KUNUZ AL KHAFIYYAH, compiled by 'Abd al-Hamid.
- NADHIR AHMAD:** Notes on / important Arabic and Persian MSS found in various Libraries in India by Hafiz Nadhir Ahmad (published in the JASB, new series vol. xiii and xiv)
- PESHAWAR:** Lubab al-ma'arif al-ilmiyyah fi maktabat dar al-'ulum al-Islamiyyah by 'Abd al-Rahim (The oriental section of the Library of the Islamiyyah college Peshawar)
- RAMPUR:** Catalogue of the Arabic books and MSS in the Rampur State Library.
- STOREY:** Persian Literature by Mr. C.A.Storey, Luzac 1927.

N.B. Other abbreviations are either obvious or those adopted by Brockelmann in his great history of Arabic Literature and Mx by Mr. Storey in his Persian Literature.

A P P E N D I X

SECTION I

QURANIC LITERATURE

1. Abu Bakr Ishaq b. Taj al Din Abu 'l Hasan al-Sufi al-Bakri al-Multani al-Manafi, called Ibn al-Taj (after 736)

1. Brock. II 220

2. Storey 51

For other works of his, see sections III, IV.

- B. KHULASAT JAWAHIR AL QUR AN FI BAYAN MA ANI AL FURQAN.

Berlin 375.

C. JAWAHIR AL QUR AN

(Mentioned in his introduction to the KHULSA 4)

2. Amir Kabir Sayyid Ali b. Sayyid Shihab al-Din Hamadani (786)

1. Tabaqat-i-Shahjahani folio 13b

2. Hada iq 297

3. Rieu Per. Cat. 447

4. Brock II 221

5. Tadhkirah 148

6. Rawdat al-abrar 12

For other works of his see sections II, IV.

- B. HISALAH FI AL NASIKH WA'L MANSUKH.

Delhi 981/b

3. Ali b. Ahmad Mahani (835)

1. Akhbar al-akhyar 174

2. Ma athir al-kiram folio 243

3. Subhat al-marjan 39

4. Abjad al ulum 893

5. Mahbub al-albab 50

6. Tadhkirah 147

7. Abd al-Haqq's Taqriz on Fiqh-i-

Makhdumi, lithographed at Bombay, p.10

8. Brock II 221

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1. This letter is to be read in the light of the fact that the writer is a member of the same family as the person named in the letter.

1947-1948, 1949-1950, 1951-1952, 1953-1954, 1955-1956, 1957-1958, 1959-1960, 1961-1962, 1963-1964, 1965-1966, 1967-1968, 1969-1970, 1971-1972, 1973-1974, 1975-1976, 1977-1978, 1979-1980, 1981-1982, 1983-1984, 1985-1986, 1987-1988, 1989-1990, 1991-1992, 1993-1994, 1995-1996, 1997-1998, 1999-2000, 2001-2002, 2003-2004, 2005-2006, 2007-2008, 2009-2010, 2011-2012, 2013-2014, 2015-2016, 2017-2018, 2019-2020, 2021-2022, 2023-2024, 2025-2026, 2027-2028, 2029-2030, 2031-2032, 2033-2034, 2035-2036, 2037-2038, 2039-2040, 2041-2042, 2043-2044, 2045-2046, 2047-2048, 2049-2050, 2051-2052, 2053-2054, 2055-2056, 2057-2058, 2059-2060, 2061-2062, 2063-2064, 2065-2066, 2067-2068, 2069-2070, 2071-2072, 2073-2074, 2075-2076, 2077-2078, 2079-2080, 2081-2082, 2083-2084, 2085-2086, 2087-2088, 2089-2090, 2091-2092, 2093-2094, 2095-2096, 2097-2098, 2099-2100, 2101-2102, 2103-2104, 2105-2106, 2107-2108, 2109-2110, 2111-2112, 2113-2114, 2115-2116, 2117-2118, 2119-2120, 2121-2122, 2123-2124, 2125-2126, 2127-2128, 2129-2130, 2131-2132, 2133-2134, 2135-2136, 2137-2138, 2139-2140, 2141-2142, 2143-2144, 2145-2146, 2147-2148, 2149-2150, 2151-2152, 2153-2154, 2155-2156, 2157-2158, 2159-2160, 2161-2162, 2163-2164, 2165-2166, 2167-2168, 2169-2170, 2171-2172, 2173-2174, 2175-2176, 2177-2178, 2179-2180, 2181-2182, 2183-2184, 2185-2186, 2187-2188, 2189-2190, 2191-2192, 2193-2194, 2195-2196, 2197-2198, 2199-2200, 2201-2202, 2203-2204, 2205-2206, 2207-2208, 2209-2210, 2211-2212, 2213-2214, 2215-2216, 2217-2218, 2219-2220, 2221-2222, 2223-2224, 2225-2226, 2227-2228, 2229-2230, 2231-2232, 2233-2234, 2235-2236, 2237-2238, 2239-2240, 2241-2242, 2243-2244, 2245-2246, 2247-2248, 2249-2250, 2251-2252, 2253-2254, 2255-2256, 2257-2258, 2259-2260, 2261-2262, 2263-2264, 2265-2266, 2267-2268, 2269-2270, 2271-2272, 2273-2274, 2275-2276, 2277-2278, 2279-2280, 2281-2282, 2283-2284, 2285-2286, 2287-2288, 2289-2290, 2291-2292, 2293-2294, 2295-2296, 2297-2298, 2299-2300, 2301-2302, 2303-2304, 2305-2306, 2307-2308, 2309-2310, 2311-2312, 2313-2314, 2315-2316, 2317-2318, 2319-2320, 2321-2322, 2323-2324, 2325-2326, 2327-2328, 2329-2330, 2331-2332, 2333-2334, 2335-2336, 2337-2338, 2339-2340, 2341-2342, 2343-2344, 2345-2346, 2347-2348, 2349-2350, 2351-2352, 2353-2354, 2355-2356, 2357-2358, 2359-2360, 2361-2362, 2363-2364, 2365-2366, 2367-2368, 2369-2370, 2371-2372, 2373-2374, 2375-2376, 2377-2378, 2379-2380, 2381-2382, 2383-2384, 2385-2386, 2387-2388, 2389-2390, 2391-2392, 2393-2394, 2395-2396, 2397-2398, 2399-2400, 2401-2402, 2403-2404, 2405-2406, 2407-2408, 2409-2410, 2411-2412, 2413-2414, 2415-2416, 2417-2418, 2419-2420, 2421-2422, 2423-2424, 2425-2426, 2427-2428, 2429-2430, 2431-2432, 2433-2434, 2435-2436, 2437-2438, 2439-2440, 2441-2442, 2443-2444, 2445-2446, 2447-2448, 2449-2450, 2451-2452, 2453-2454, 2455-2456, 2457-2458, 2459-2460, 2461-2462, 2463-2464, 2465-2466, 2467-2468, 2469-2470, 2471-2472, 2473-2474, 2475-2476, 2477-2478, 2479-2480, 2481-2482, 2483-2484, 2485-2486, 2487-2488, 2489-2490, 2491-2492, 2493-2494, 2495-2496, 2497-2498, 2499-2500, 2501-2502, 2503-2504, 2505-2506, 2507-2508, 2509-2510, 2511-2512, 2513-2514, 2515-2516, 2517-2518, 2519-2520, 2521-2522, 2523-2524, 2525-2526, 2527-2528, 2529-2530, 2531-2532, 2533-2534, 2535-2536, 2537-2538, 2539-2540, 2541-2542, 2543-2544, 2545-2546, 2547-2548, 2549-2550, 2551-2552, 2553-2554, 2555-2556, 2557-2558, 2559-2560, 2561-2562, 2563-2564, 2565-2566, 2567-2568, 2569-2570, 2571-2572, 2573-2574, 2575-2576, 2577-2578, 2579-2580, 2581-2582, 2583-2584, 2585-2586, 2587-2588, 2589-2590, 2591-2592, 2593-2594, 2595-2596, 2597-2598, 2599-2600, 2601-2602, 2603-2604, 2605-2606, 2607-2608, 2609-2610, 2611-2612, 2613-2614, 2615-2616, 2617-2618, 2619-2620, 2621-2622, 2623-2624, 2625-2626, 2627-2628, 2629-2630, 2631-2632, 2633-2634, 2635-2636, 2637-2638, 2639-2640, 2641-2642, 2643-2644, 2645-2646, 2647-2648, 2649-2650, 2651-2652, 2653-2654, 2655-2656, 2657-2658, 2659-2660, 2661-2662, 2663-2664, 2665-2666, 2667-2668, 2669-2670, 2671-2672, 2673-2674, 2675-2676, 2677-2678, 2679-2680, 2681-2682, 2683-2684, 2685-2686, 2687-2688, 2689-2690, 26

mentioned in his introduction to the book.

1. The following information was obtained from the files of the FBI:

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1. Tabular - 1-10

For other works of his see collection II, IV.

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598 miles in total.

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Printed and Published by J. B. ...

2. Page 17 551

VI, III and For other works of his, see sections III, IV.

A. TABSIR RAMAN WA TAYSIR AL MANNAH

Bri. Mus.

MAS. Berlin 870, 925, 931; Koprili 84-7; Qiliç 42;
Damad Ibrahim 127; Cairo I 135; see Brock
and also India Office 1142.

C. RISALAH FI BAYAN WUJUH I' RAB QAWLIHI TA'ALA

الرب ذات الارب رارب به عربى للمحقق
(N.B. THE SUBHAN contains an extract)

4. Khwajah Husayn Nagori (901)

1. A in-i- Akbari II 222

2. Tadhkirah 49

For other works of his, see section IX.

C. TAPSIR NUR AL NABI

(Tadhkirah)

5. HAJJI Sayyid Abd al-Wahhab Bukhari (932)

Tadhkirah 138

C. TAPSIR AL QUR'AN

(Ibid)

6. Illahdad Jawnapuri (932)

1. Akhbar 191

2. Tabaqat 128

3. Ma athir folio 246

4. Subhan 43

5. Abjad 894

6. Hada iq 364

7. Tajalli 39

8. Tadhkirah 25

9. Mahbub 376

For other works of his, see sections III, IX

B. HASHIYAH ALA AL MADARIK

India Office 1137

7. Khatib Abu 'l Fadl Gazruni Gujarati (959)

1. A in-i-Akbari II 261

2. Tabaqat 169b

3. Akhbar al-nuhat 119

For other works of his, see sections III, IV

A. TABSIR AL QUR AN

Tablighi

1. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1900)

2. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1901)

3. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1902)

4. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1903)

5. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1904)

6. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1905)

7. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1906)

8. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1907)

9. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1908)

10. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1909)

11. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1910)

12. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1911)

13. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1912)

14. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1913)

15. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1914)

16. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1915)

17. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1916)

18. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1917)

19. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1918)

20. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1919)

21. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1920)

22. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1921)

23. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1922)

24. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1923)

25. Tablighi al-Qur'an (1924)

For other works of his, see sections III, IV

B. HADITH AL QUR AN

Tablighi

1. Hadith al-Qur'an (1900)

2. Hadith al-Qur'an (1901)

3. Hadith al-Qur'an (1902)

4. Hadith al-Qur'an (1903)

For other works of his, see sections V, X

B. HASHIYAH ALA TAFSIR AL BAYDAWI

Peshawar 48; Rampur 27

8. Ali Muttaqi b. Musam al-Din of Burhanpur (975)

1. Al-Nur al-safir under the year 975

2. Akhbar 248

3. Zad al muttaqin folio 183b

4. Safinat al awliya 191

5. Tabaqat fol. 183b

6. Ma'athir 246

7. Subhah 43

8. Abjad 895

9. Ithaf al-nubala 326

10. Hada iq 382

11. Mahbub 147

12. Tadhkirah 146

For other works of his, sections II, IV, XI

B. SHU'UN AL MUNAZZALAT

Delhi 53 (India Office 1152)

(N.B. As his Khalifah Abd al-Wahhab al-Muttaqi used to make fair copies of the works of his teacher, this work has been wrongly assigned to him (the pupil). The account of his, given by his pupil Abd al-Haqq in his Zad al muttaqin mentions no works of him.)

9. Muhammad b. Ahmad Miyanji b. Nasir (982)

1. Brook II 417

2. Tadhkirah 214

B. AL TAFSIR AL MUHAMMADI

Loth 103

C. HASHIYAT AL BAYDAWI

(Tadhkirah)

10. Wajih al-Din al-Alawi of Gujarat (998)

1. Akhbar 159

2. Bada'uni III 43

3. Tabaqat 202b

4. Safinat al-awliya 193

5. Ma'athir 281

6. Subhah 45

7. Abjad 896

8. Hada'iq 388

14. Qadi Nur Allah b. ... (1019)

9. Tadhkirah 249

For other works of his, see sections II, III, V

VII, IX

C. HASHIYAT AL BAYDAWI

11. Shaykh Mubarak of Nagawr (1001)

1. A'in-i-Akbari II 26D

2. Tabaqat Badā'uni III 73

3. Tabaqat 210b

4. Ma'athir 252

5. Hada'iq 394

6. Tadhkirah 174

C. MANBA' NAFA'IS AL ULUM according to Badā'uni
and the Tabaqat but 'MANBA' UYUN AL MA'ANI'
according to the Ma'athir.

12. Abu 'l Fayd Faydi (1004)

1. Badā'uni III 299

2. A'in-i-Akbari III 218

3. Tabaqat 247

4. Ma'athir al umara' II 584

5. Ma'athir 253

13. Isnad al Dan ... 6. Subhan 43
... 7. Abjad 397

8. Brock II 417

9. Tadhkirah 4

For other work of his, see section IV.

A. SAWATI AL ILHAM

MSS. Leid 1702; Loth 104; 105; Cairo 1 178

Constantinople: Hamidiyyah 88; Wali al-
Din 185; Aya Sufiyah 180; Nur Uthmani 339;
Koprili 113; Damad Ibrahim 128; Lalah 11
142; Miftah 292.

13. Hafiz Tashkandi (Akbar's reign-963-1014)

1. A'in-i-Akbari

2. Tadhkirah

C. TAFSIR SURAH MUHAMMAD (XLVII)

14. Qadi Nur Allah b. Sayyid Sharif Shustari (1019)

1. Bada uni 111 137
2. Tabaqat 219
3. Nujum 9 (Page 16 contains a list of his works)
4. Tadhkirah 246

For other works of his, see sections II, III, V, VI, IX.

B. HASHIYAT AL BAYDAWI

Miftah 268; Benga II 285; Peshawar 37

2. KASHF AL AWAR FI TAFSIR AYAT AL GHAR
Bengal II 821

3. Munis al Wahid

Ibid 1029

4. Al Sahab al matir fi tafsir ayat al Tathir
(IX.28) Ibid 484

C.I.

- C.1. TAFSIR AYAH WA KADHALIKA JAALNAKUM UMMAT
(II 137) Kashf al Hujub

2. TAFSIR AYAT AL RU YA

Ibid

15. Imad al Din Muhammad Arif al-Uthmani, known as Abd al-Nabi Shattari (after 1020)

16. Tadhkirah 135

For other works of his, see sections II, IV, V, VI, IX, X.

C. DASTUR AL MUFASSIRIN

(Tadhkirah)

17. Abu Bakr Muhyi al-Din Abd al-Qadir al-Aydarus (1038)

1. Al-nur al-safir folio 117 (Autobiography)
2. Muhibbi II 440
3. Hada iq 406
4. Tadhkirah 129
5. Al-fawa id al-bahiyah 36 (margine)
6. Wuestenfeld No. 556

7. Brockelmann II 419

For other works of his, see sections IV, V,
VIII, X

B. AL FATH AL QUDSI FI TAFSIR AYAT AL KURSI
(verse II 256)

Buhar No. 457 iv

18. Abd al-Haqq Haqqi b. Sayf al-Din of Delhi (1052)

1. Akhbar 300 (Autobiography)

2. Bada uni III 113

3. Tabaqat 299

4. Ma athir 256, see sections III, V, VI,

5. Subhah 52

6. Abjad 900

7. Ithaf 303

8. Hada iq 409

9. Tadhkirah 108

10. Elliot VI 175

11. Beale 3

12. Encylo. Islam I 39

For other works of his, see sections II, IV, V,
VI, VIII.

B. SHARH AL QASIDAT AL KHA JAZARIYYAH

Peshawar 1092

19. Muhibb Allah of Allahabad (1058)

1. Hada iq 412

2. Tadhkirah 175

3. Mahbub 375

4. Dhikr al ma arif (His biography by
Shawkat Husayn, Allahabad 1928)

For other works of his, see sections IV, VI

20. B.1. TARJAMAT AL KITAB (in Arabic)

(In possession of his Sajjadah-nasbin)

2. HASHIYAT TARJAMAT AL KITAB

Delhi 1790

20. Abd al-Hakim al-Siyalkuti (1067)

1. Tabaqat 306

2. Farhat al nazirin (Oriental Magazine of Lahore XIV 74)

24. Har al-Raqq B. Al-Raqq (1073)

3. Ma athir 261

4. Subhah 66

5. Muhibbi II 318

6. Abjad 902

7. Hadaiq 414

8. Beale 4

9. Mahbub 174

10. Tarb al-amathil 252

11. Tadhkirah 110

12. Brockelmann II 417

For his works of his, see sections III, V, VI,

IX.

A. HASHIYAH ALA TAFSIR AL BAYDAWAI

MSS. Asafiyyah 542-4; Rampur 28; Bengal I p.4;

Buhar B; Loth 90, 91; Peshawar 42; Princeton

208; India Office 1122; about 20 Constanti

nople catalogues (see India Office 1122)

B. HASHIYAT AL KASHSHAF

Rampur 31

21. Abd al-Salam of Diwah (Pupil of Abd al-Salam Of Lahore-
during Shahjahan's reign)

1. Tabaqat 309

2. Ma athir 303

For other work of his section III.

C. HASHIYAT AL BAYDAWI

22. An unknown author (in the time of Shahjahan)

B. HASHIYAH ALA TAFSIR AL BAYDAWI (SURAT
AL FATIHAH)

India Office 1123.

23. Shah Abd Allah, commonly called Jalabi Sahib (compiled in
1070)

B. FARIDAT AL ZAMANAH FI TAFSIR

AYAH (I.E. *اعراضنا الانا*)

Verse xxxiii 72)

India Office 1165

2. Farhat al nazirin (oriental Magazine
of Lahore XIV58

3. Ma athir 258

4. Subhah 53

5. Abjad 901

6. Ithaf 426

7. Rieu Pera. p.224

24. Nur al-Haqq b. Abd al-Haqq of Delhi (1073)

1. Tabaqat 310
2. Farhat al nazirin (Oriental Magazine of Lahore xiv 58)
3. Ma athir 258
4. Subhah 53
5. Abjad 901
6. Ithaf 426
7. Hada iq 418
8. Rieu Pers. p. 224
9. Tadhkirah 246 (compiled in 1103)
10. Ency .Islam I 971 (Arabic version)

For other works of his, see sections II, IX.

B. TAFSIR SURAT AL FATIHAN

Bengal II 204.

25. Muhammad Ali Karbala i (dedicated his work to Sultan Abd Allah Qutb Shah of Golconda-1035-1083)

See Storey No.84

B. HADIYAH-I-QUTB SHAHI

Ibid

26. Shah Jund Allah of Burhanpur (11th century)

1. Hada iq 404

2. Tadhkirah 153

C. ANWAR AL ASRAR (4 volumes)

Ibid

27. Jalal b. Nasir Chanabi (11th century)

B. HASHIYAT AL BAYDAWI JUZ I.

India Office 1118,9

28. Abd Allah b. Abd al-Hakim al-Siyalkuti (11th century)

B. TAFSIR SURAT AL FATIHAN

Rampur 25

29. Muhammad Fadl Allah, nephew of the above mentioned

Abd Allah (11th century)

B. HASHIYAH ALA HASHIYAT AL SIYALKUTI ALA

AL BAYDAWI (SURAT AL FATIHAN)

India Office 1162

B. AL MUDIH AL FASIH, TAFSIR SURAH YUSUF.

Loth 1036 vii

31. Sayyid Muhammad Abu 'l Majd Mahbub Alam b. Sayyid Ja far
(1111)

Tadhkirah 214

C. TAFSIR AL QUR AN (just like AL JALALAYN)

32. Mustafa b. Muhammad Sa id, entitled Muqarrab Khan
(dedicated to Awrangzib)

See Storey No. 85

A. NUJUM AL FURQAN (compiled in 1103)

Lithographed with an Arabic version
of the Author's Persian introduction
at Madras. (Bri. Mus.)

22x

B. 1. AMARAT KALAM AL RAHMAN (compiled in 1105)

See Storey No. 85(2)

2. AQSAM AYAT AL QUR AN (a classified
list of the subjects of the Qur an)

Stewart p. 173.

33. Nasir b. Husayn al-Hasani al-Husayni (dedicated his
work to Awrangzib)

B. AL JADAWIL AL NURIYYAH FI ISTIKHRAJ

AL AYAT AL QUR ANIYYAH

India Office 1212.

34. Ahmad b. Muhammad Qasim b. Muhammad Nadhir al Quhunduzi
(Bahadur Shah's time)

See India Office 1163

B. MAJMA AL TA WIL FI ASRAR AL TANZIL

Ibid

35. Ghulam Naqshband b. Ata Allah (1126)

1. Ma athir 272

2. Subhan 79

3. Abjad 906

4. Hada iq 435

5. Tadhkirah 153

For other work of his, see section IX.

B. ANWAR AL FURQAN WA AZHAR AL QUR AN

Nadhir Ahmad 126

(1130)

36. Ahmad b. Abu Sa'id, better known as Mulla Jiwan (1133)

1. Ma athir 278

2. Abjad 907

3. Hada iq 436

4. Beale 371

5. Tadhkirah 45

6. Mahbub 827

7. Ency. Islam (Under Djiwan)

For other work of his section III.

A. AL TAFSIRAT AL AHMADIYYAH FI BAYAN
AL AYAT AL SHAR IYYAH

MSS. India Office 1160; Bengal A.a.1.

Loth 116; Asafiyyah 532; Rampur 24

37. Hafiz Aman Allah of Banaras b. Nur Allah (1133)

1. Ma athir 271

2. Subhah 78

3. Abjad 906

4. Beale 69

5. Tadhkirah 27

For other works of his, see sections

V, VI

C. HASHIYAT AL BAYDAWI

/38. Ali Asghar b. Abd al Samad (1140)

1. Ta rikh-i-Farrukhabad folio 161b

2. Abjad 930

3. Hada iq 436

4. Tadhkirah 141

For other works of his, see sections IV,

XI.

B. THAWAQIB AL TANZIL FI ISHARAT AL TA WIL.

Rampur 26.

39. Nur al-Din Ahmadabadi (1155)

1. Ma athir 281

2. Subhah 94

4. Ithaf 427

5. Hada iq 445

43. Rustam Ali b. Ahmad Qasbi 6. Tadhkirah 247

For other works of his, see sections
II, III, IV, V, VI, IX.

C.1. TAFSIR AL QUR'AN

2. AL TAFSIR AL MURANI LI AL SAB AL

44. Muhammad Ali b. Abd al-Rahim b. al-Harith al-Harithi (1183)

MATHANI

3. TAFSIR SURAT AL BAQARAH, entitled

AL TAFSIR AL RABBANI

40. Muhammad Abid Lahori (1160)

1. Hada iq 444

2. Tadhkirah 201

For other work of his, see section X.

C. HASHIYAT AL BAYDAWI

41. Mulla Hamid b. Abd al-Rahim of Jawnpur (1173)

Arabic
/works quoted from Tajalliy-i-mur 93

45. Muhammad b. Hashiyat AL BAYDAWI

Rasdaq al-Husayni al-Buhar 8.

42. Shah Wali Allah b. Abd al-Rahim of Delhi (1176)

1. His autobiography in JASB 1912
pp. 161-75

2. Abjad 912

3. Ithaf 428

4. Hada iq 447

5. His biography, Hayat-i-Wali by
Muhammad Rahim Baksh

6. Brockelmann II

7. Ency. Isl. I, 971

For other works of his, see sections II,

III, IV, V, X, XI.

AL FAWZ AL KABIR

46. Abd al-Rahim b. Hashiyat AL BAYDAWI

Bri. Mus.

MS. Delhi 279

2. FATH AL KHAIR BIMA LABUDD MIN HIFZHI

FI ILM AL TAFSIR

For other works of his, see sections II,
Bri. Mus.

MSS. See Brockelmann II .Cairo

243,418;Asafiyyah 261

43. Rustam Ali ~~Qannawji~~ Qannawji (1178)

1. Ta rikh-i-Farrukhabad folio 162b

2. Tadhkirah 63

47. Ghulam Ahmad, For other work of his, see section III.

Qadi (Jalil) C. TAPSIK-ILAGHIR

44. Muhammad Ali b. Abi Talib, al-mutakhallis bi Hazin (1183)

1. His autobiography, Tadhkirah-i-Hazin

2. Nujum 283.

C. 1. KITAB AL KHAWASS BA D AL SUWAR WA'L

AYAT

2. KITAB SHAJARAT AL NUR FI SHARH AYAT

AL NUR

3/. KITAB TAJWAID AL QUR AN.

(N.B. The Nujum p.287 contains a list of about 80 Arabic

/works quoted from some of his own works)

45. Muhammad Murtada b. Muhammad b. Muhammad Abd al-Razzaq al-Husayni al-Zabidi (1205)

1. Ithaf 407

2. Hada iq 459

3. Tadhkirah 224

4. Al-Khutat al-Tawfiqiyyah III

94

5. Brockelmann II/

6. Jurji Zaydan III 288.

For other works of his, see sections II,

III, IV, V, IX.

C. MANH AL FUYUDAT AL WAFIYYAH FIMA SURAT

AL RAHMAN MIN ASRAR AL SIFAT AL ILAHIYYAH.

2. *Tafsir surah yunus*

46. Abd al-Basit b. Rustam Ali Qannawji (1223)

1. Ithaf 309

2. Hada iq 464

3. Tadhkirah 107.

4. Beale 3

For other works of his, see sections II,

VII, IX.

C. 1. TAFSIR DHU 'L FIQAR KHANI

2. RISALAH AJIB AL BAYAN FI ULUM
TAFSIR AL QUR AN.47. Ghulam Ahmad, Qadi of Seringapatam, and Sayyid Ali,
Qadi (Jointly compiled in 1223)

See Storey No. 86

B. JAWAHIR AL QUR AN (an index to the
verses of the Qur an)

Ethe 2709; Ivanow 979.980.

48. By order of Tipu Sultan was compiled - (1244)

B. FIHRIST I SURAH I KITAB ALLAH

C. 1 See storey No. 87

53. SHAH Muhammad Safi al-Din Ethe 2711, Ivanow 978 (1249)

49. Qadi Thana Allah of Panipat (1225)

1. Ithaf 240

For 2. Hada iq 465 his, see sections

VI, X, 3. Tadhkirah 38

B. For other work of his, see section V.

A. TAFSIR I MAZHARI 1239

54. Sayyid Husayn b. only some parts lithographed i.e. from
beginning to Surah al-Nisa; Rampur 26;
For other works of his see sections
Peshawar 91.

B. DITTO, from the third Ruku of the Surah

Yusuf upto the end of the Surah Al-Nur.

(K Rampur p. 26

50. Salam Allah b. Shaykh al-Islam (1229) - Tadhkirah Husayn

Khan in the time of 1. Abjad 927; Rampur

2. Tadhkirah 76. undotted letters)

For other works of his, see sections

56. Rukn al-Din Husayn II, IV. led Surah Ali b. Husayn at Ali

A. AL KAMALAYN, HASHIYAT AL JALALAYN

of Lucknow (1244)

Bri. Mus.

MS. Delhi 31.

51. Shah Abd al-Aziz b. Shah Wali Allah Of Delhi (1234)

1. Athar al-sanadid iv 69

WORKS OF MUHAMMAD RAZI1. Muhammadiyah

2. Ithaf 296

3. Abjad 914

4. Hada'iq 470

5. Kamalat-i-Azizi, a biography by

2. Muhammad b. Ahmad Thana'i

Nawwab Mubarak Ali Khan

6. Tadhkirah 122

For other works of his, see sections II, IV
V, VIII, IX, X, XI.

B. MUQADDIMAH TAFSIR FATH AL AZIZ

Rampur 43.

52. Muhammad Ashraf b. Qadi Ni mat Allah (1244)

Tadhkirah 180

C. TAFSIR AL QUR AN

53. SHAH Muhammad Rafi al-Din b. Shah Wali Allah (1249)

1. Abjad 914

2. Hada'iq 469

3. Tadhkirah 60

4. Mahbub 320

For other works of his, see sections
VI, X, XI.

B. TAFSIR AYAT AL NUR (xxiv 35)

India Office 1169

54. Sayyid Husayn b. Sayyid Dildar Ali Nasirabadi (1271)

Kashf al-Hujub 5 (preface)

For other works of his see sections
III, V.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

C. RISALAH FI TAHQIQ MA NA 'IN SHA ALLAH'
(KASHF)

55. Sahib-zadah Ali Abbas Khan b. Sahib-Zadah Husayn

Khan [in the time of Nawwab Kalb Ali Khan of Rampur]

B. TAFSIR SURAH YUSUF (in undotted letters)

Rampur 26

56. Rukn al-Din Muhammad, called Turab Ali b. Shuja at Ali
of Lucknow (1281)

Tadhkirah 35

A. AL HILALAYN, HASHIYAT AL JALALAYN

Bri. Mus.

WORKS OF UNCERTAIN DATES

L. Hakim Shahur Hindi

B. TAFSIR SURAT AL KAWTHAR

L. Haddi al-Din al-Hasan b. Muhammad b. Usman al-SAGHANI
Rampur Asafiyyah 536.

(550)

2. Muhammad b. Ahmad Thanosari Gujarati

B. KASHIF AL HAQA IQ WA QAMUS AL DAQA IQ

Bengal A.a.20

1. Tafsir al-Kawthar	17
2. Kashif	432
3. Qamus	25
4. Itbar	243
5. Abjad	590
6. Haddi iq	253
7. Brecholsman I	360
8. Jum'issaydan III	49
9. Yadhikar	48
10. Al-Fawa'id al-bahiyah	48.

For other works of him, see sections IX, XI.

A. AL NASHARIQ AL SHAR AL NABAWIYYAH HI SHARH
AL ARSHAD AL MUSTAFAWIYYAH.

See Bihar No. 30

MS. Berlin 1320; Paris 757; Bri. Mus. p 713 as
 Hieu 346; Algiers 476; Tani 290-4;
 Cairo I 308; Uqal 394; Rampur 115;
 Bankipur 385; Asafiyyah 572; Delhi 307;
 Salim Akbar 234; Kamanakush 57; Koprili 430
 War Uthmani 1232; Salaymaniyah 344;
 Tani Sharifi 180; Mahand II 165;
 Husayn Fasha 77; Atif 519; Mihr Shah 46;
 Ughli 177; Takpa 80; Patih 1135; Lalah II
 553 and 554; Iqa Safiyah 300. And Khond
 14.

B. 1. KIBALAH FI AL AHADITH AL HANDBAH

Cairo VII 123; Berlin 1430; Salaymaniyah
 1230; Ahmad Ibrahim 386; Minarew 4; Rampur
 120;

AL

C. DARR AL SHARH VI SAYAH W-FAYAH AL SARAH
 Cairo & Berlin 300.

SECTION II

HADITH LITERATURE

1. Radi al-Din al-Hasan b. Muhammad b. Hasan al-SAGHANI
(650)

1. Taj al-tarajim 17
2. Maathir 232
3. Subhah 28
4. Ithaf 243
5. Abjad 322 890
6. Hada iq 253
7. Brookelmann I 360
8. Jurjizaydan III 49
9. Tadhkirah 48
10. Al-fawa id al-bahiyah 48.

For other works of his, see sections IX, XI.

- A. AL MASHARIQ AL ANWAR AL NABAWIYYAH MI SIHAH
AL AKHBAR AL MUSTAFAWIYYAH.

See Buhar No. 30

MSS. Berlin 1322; Paris 737; Bri. Mus. p 713 a;
Rieu 145; Algiers 476; Yeni 280-4;
Cairo I 308; Usfal 394; Rampur 113;
Bankipur 365; Asafiyyah 672; Delhi 307;
Salim Agha 234; Kamankash 57; Koprili 432
Nur Uthmani 1232; Sulaymaniyyah 324;
Jami Sharifi 180; Mahmud II 165;
Husayn Pasha 77; Atif 619; Mihr Shah 38;
Ughli 177; Yahya 80; Fatih 113⁵³; Lalah 11
653 and 654; Aya Sufiyah 900. Asad Efendi
14.

- B. 1. RISALAH FI AL AHADITH AL MAWDUAH

Cairo vii 123; Berlin 1630; Sulaymaniyyah
1038; Damad Ibrahim 336; Khusraw 4; Rampur
120;

AH

2. DARR AL SAHAB/FI BAYAN WAFAYAT AL SAHABAH
Cairo v 52; Berlin 9652.

For other works of his, see sections

3. KITAB FI ASMA SHUYUKH AL BUKHARI

I, IV.

Constantinople, Bashir Agha 68

B. 1. AL SHAMS AL MUNIRAH

C. 1. MISBAH AL DUJA MIN SIHAH AHADITH AL

Sri. Mus. 39011

MUSTAPA

2. ASMA IN AMIRIYAH

(Ithaf 243)

2. AL SHAMS AL MUNIRAH

5. Badr al-Din Mahmud b. Abu Bakr, called Ibn al-Samini

(838).

Ibid

3. ZUBDAT AL MANASIK

Ibid

4. KITAB DARAJAT AL ILM WA'L ULAMA

Ibid

5. SHARH SAHIB AL BUKHARY

For other Ibid p. 55 his, see sections IX.

2. Shams al-Din Yahyayyah awadhi (747)

(Compos. 1. Ma athir 239

Ithaf 2. Subhah 29

6. Abd al-Walik b. Abd al- 3. Abjad 891

(957)

4. Hada 1q 284

5. Tadhkirah 86

C. SHARH NASHARIOQ AL ANWAR

B. 1. ISALAH FI Ithaf

3. Abu Hafs Siraj al-Din Umar b. Ishaq b. Ahmad al-Hindi

7. S (773) Abd al-Aziz b. Ali al-Husani Zayduri (968)

1. Al-durr al-kaminah (under Umar
b. Ishaq, and also under 'Hindi')

2. Hada 1q 290

3. Tadhkirah 152

4. Beale 19

5. Al-fawa id al-bahiyyah 60

6. Tarb al-amathil 259

7. Brockelmann II 220

For other works of his, see sections III,

8. Ali Ruttagi b. Husayn al-Din of Samanpur (974)

IV, V, IX.

B. SHARH AL ARBA IN

Bengal II 514

4. Amir Kabir Sayyid Ali b. Shihab al-Din al-Hamadani (786)

For other works of his, see sections

I, IV.

B.1. AL SAB IN FI FADA IL AMIR AE MU MININ

Bri. Mus. 89011

2. ARBA IN AMIRIYYAH

Ibid 890 111

5. Badr al-Din Muhammad b. Abu Bakr, called Ibn al-Damamini
(828).

1. Bughyat al wu at fi tabaqat
al lughwiyyin wa'l muhat fol. 156

2. Khalifah vi 419

3. Brockelmann II 26

4. Wakil Ahmad's Akhbar-1-Muhat 118

For other works of his, see sections IX.

C. MASABIH AL JAMI, SHARH SAHIH AL BUKHARI

(Composed for the Bahmani king Ahmad Shah;

Ithaf 53)

6. Abd al-Malik b. Abd al-Ghafur, called Aman Allah Panipati
(957)

1. Tabaqat folio 159 b

2. Tadhkirah 27 (986)

B. RISALAH FI ITIBAT AL AHADIYYAT

Asafiyyah (Hadith section) 628

7. Sayyid Abd al-Awwal b. Ala al-Husani Zayduri (968)

1. Akhbar 245

2. Tabaqat 182 b

3. Hada iq 375

4. Tajalli II 43

5. Tadhkirah 106

For other works of his, see sections III

C. FAYD AL BARI, SHARH S AHIH AL BUKHARI

Ithaf 56

8. Ali Muttaqi b. Husam al-Din of Burhanpur (975)

For other works of his, see sections I,

IV, XI.

~~A.1. KANZ AL UMMAL~~

A.1. KANZ AL UMMAL

Bri. Mus.

MSS. Bankipur 427; Kumpur Nur Uthmani

1199-1203; Delhi 248 (Only a portion)

MSS of parts:

1. Manhaj al ummal

MSS. Bankipur 425; Atif 636; Ashir 270
Wali al-Din 856; Nur Uthmani
1275.

11. Al-ikmal li manhaj al ummal
Koprili 249; Nur Uthmani 674;
Demad-zadah 341; Aya Sufiyah
458.

2. MUNTAKHAB KANZ AL UMMAL

(Printed at Cairo on the margin of
the Musnad of Imam Ahmad Hanbal)

MSS. Bankipur 428; Nur Uthmani 1272.

B. 1. AL FUSUL, SHARH JAMI AL USUL

Bankipur 225

10. Zayn al-Din b. Abd al-Latif Nu'uri (after 987)

2. SHAWA IL AL NABI

Peshawar 439

3. AL BURHAN FI ALAKAT MAHDI AKHIR AL

ZAMAN.

Delhi 121; Loth 1031 ii; Berlin 2726

-30; Alger 857.

9. Jamal al-Din Muhammad b. Tahir of Pattan (986)

1. Al-nur al-safir, under the year
986

2. Akhbar 272

3. Ma athir 249

4. Subhan 43

5. Ithaf 397

6. Abjad 895

7. Hada iq 365.

8. Brockelmann II 416

9. Tadhkirah 196

10. Al-fawa id al-bahiyah 67
(on margine)

11. Mahbub 385.

A.1. HAJMA BI HAR AL ANWAR FI GHARA IB AL

TANZIL WA LATA IF AL AKHBAR

13. Qadi Nur Allah Shustari (1011) Bri. Mus.

MSS. Bankipur Ibid 1688-9; Loth 1023

Calcutta LXXX.

2. TADHKIRAT AL MAWDU AT

Lithographed in India

MSS. Bengal A.b. 18; Asafiyyah 616;
Buhar 47; Delhi 161; Bankipur 315

3. AL MUGHNI FI DABT ASMA AL RIJAL

See Buhar 242

MSS. Bankipur 731; Asafiyyah 788;
Buhar 242.

14. B.1. ASMA AL RIJAL

Bankipur xii 730; Rampur 134

2. RISALAH FI LUGHAT AL MISHKAT

Bengal C. 7

C. QANUN AL MAWDU AT FI DHIKR AL DU AFA XXXL

WA'L WADDA IN

Tadhkirah 196

10. Zayn al-Din b. Abd al- Aziz Ma bari (after 987)

1. Akhbar al-akhyar 268 (about his
father)

2. Brockelmann II 416

3. Jurjizaydan III 314

4. David Lope's Introduction to
his translation of the Tuhfat
al-mujahidin.For other works of his, see sections II,
VIII.

A.XX KITAB MUTADAMMIN AL AHADITH WA'L ATHAR

AL MUTA ALLAQAH BI AL MAWT WA MA BA DUH

X Bri. Mus. II 33

11. Wajih al-Din Gujarati (998)

For other works of his, see sections

I, III, V, VII/IX.

B. SHARH SHARH NUKHBAT AL FIKAR

Rampur 127

12. Sa id b. Muhammad al-Mufti (compiled in 1015)

See Bankipur 285

B. SHARH ARBA IN AL HAWAWI

Ibid

13. Qadi Nur Allah Shustari (1019)

For other works

For other works of his, see sections I,
III,V,VI,IX.

C.1. SHARH MUQADDIMAT AL MASABIH FI AL AHADITH.

B. 1. ILM AL AHADITH KASHF AL-HUJUB

2. HASHIYAT TADHIB AL AHKAM FI AL AHADITH.

A.B. 577: Ibid

14. Abd Imad al-Din Muhammad Arif Uthmani, called Abd al-Nabi (after 1020)

For other works of his, see sections
I, IV, V, VI, IX, X.

18. Nur al-Haqq b. C.1. SHARH NUKHBAT AL FIKAR

For other works of his, see sections I, IV, V, VI, IX, X.

2. SHARH AL MISHKAT

A. SHARH SHAMA IL TIRMIDHI

3. SHARH HADITH 'KUNTU KANZA'

Ibid

19. Mulla Taqi b. Shah Muhammad Isfahani (dedicated his work to Farrukh Siyar (1134-1135))

4. SHARH HADITH 'AL SALAT MI RAJ AL

MU MININ.

See Bakhshi Ibid

15. Muhammad Ashiq b. Umar (1036)

FI HADA IQ 404

C. SHARH SHAMA IL TIRMIDHI

Ibid

20. Abu 'I Hasan b. Abd al-Qadir al-Ghazali (1105)

16. Hasan b. Ali b. Shadqan (1046)

1. Sulafat al-asr 249

For other works of his, see sections III.

2. Muhibbi II 23

A.1. HASHIYAT AL AHADITH

3. Brockelmann II 416

MS. Cairo I 331

4. Nujum 41

2. HASHIYAT

5. Jurji Zaydan III 315

For other work of his, see section VIII.

6. AL JAWAHIR AL NIZAMIYYAH MIN HADITH KHAYR

B.1. HASHIYAT AL AHADITH

AL BARIYYAH.

Cairo I 331

Nujum 41

B. PATH AL AHADITH SHARH ABU DA UD.

17. Abd al-Haqq Haqqi Muhaddith of Delhi (1052)

For other works of his, see sections I,

C.1. HASHIYAT AL AHADITH

IV, V, VI, VIII.

21. Nur al-Haqq A.1. MUQADDIMAT AL MISHKAT

Bri. Mus. (with the Mishkat)

2. MA THABAT BI AL SUNNAH FI AYYAM AL SANAH

Bri. Musi

MSS. Rampur 107; Delhi 275; Bankipur 404

B. 1. LAM AT AL TANQIH ALA NISHKAT AL MASABIH

Bankipur 361; Rampur 107; Delhi 171; Bengal

A. b. 57; Asafiyyah 664

2. AL IKMAL FI ASMA AL RIJAL

Delhi 105; Bankipur 732

3. TANQIQ AL ISHARAH FI TA'NIM AL BISHARAH.

Delhi 126.

18. Nur al-Haqq b. Abd al-Haqq (1073)

For other works of his, see sections //

I, IX.

B. SHARH SHAMA IL TIRMIDHI

Rampur 90

19. Mulla Taqi b. Shah Muhammad Lahori (dedicated his work to Farrukh Siyar: 1124-31)

See Bankipur 457

B. ZUBDAT AL ANZAR, SHARH NUZHAT AL NAZAR

FI TAWDIH NUKHBAT AL FIKAR

IBID

20. Abu 'l Hasan b. Abd al-Hadi al-Sindi (1138)

Muradi iv 66

For other work of his, see section III.

A. 1. HASHIYAH ALA AL BUKHARI

Bri. Mus.

MS. Cairo I 331

2. HASHIYAH ALA SUNAN AL NISA I

See Mu jam al matbu at 1057

3. HASHIYAH ALA SUNAN IBN MAJAH

IBID

MS. Cairo I 331

B. 1. HASHIYAH ALA AL MUSLIM

Cairo I 331

2. PATH AL WADUD, SHARH SUNAN ABI DA UD.

Ibid

C. HASHIYAH ALA MUSNAD IMAM AHMAD

See Muradi iv 66

21. Nur al-Din Ahmadabadi (1155)

For other works of his, see sections I, III
IV, V, VI, IX.

C. NUR AL QARI, SHARH SAHITH AL BUKHARI

Ithaf 56

22. Muhammad Hayat al-Sindi (1163)

1. Ma athir 210

2. Subhah 95

3. Muradi iv 34

4. Ithaf 403

5. Abjad 849

6. Bankipur Cat. No. 236

For other works of his, see section V.

B. TUHFAT AL MUHIBBIN FI SHARH AL ARBA IN

(AL NAWAWI)

Bankipur 236.

23. Muhammad Hashim b. Abd al-Ghafur al-Sindi (1174)

1. Tadhkirah 253

2. Mahbub 159

For other work of his see section III.V

B. JANNAT AL NA IM FI PADA IL AL QUR AN

Miftah 257

24. Shah Wali Allah of Delhi (1176)

For other works of his, see sections

I, III, IV, V, IX, X, XI

A.1. HUJJAT ALLAH AL BALIGHAH

MSS. Berlin 1381; Cairo I

2. AL IRSHAD ILA MUHIMMAT ILM AL ISNAD

Bri. Mus.

3. AL ARBA IN

Ibid

MS. Rampur 62

4. AL DURR AL THAMIN FI MUBASHSHARAT

AL NABIYY AL AMIN

MS. other IBID

MS. Delhi 277 111.

5. XEMAH SHARH TRAJIM ABWAB AL BUKHARI

Bri. Mus.

MSS. Bankipur 178; Rampur 40

6. TA WIL AL AHADITH

See Asafiyyah 617

B.1. AL NAWADIR

AL MUTANATHIRAH

2. AL PADL AL MUBIN FI AL MUSALSAL MIN

AHADITH AL NABIYY AL AMIN

Delhi 230

3. AL MUSAWWA ,SHARH AL MUWATTA

Bankipur 125;Peshawar 301,Delhi

64;Rampur 113

25. Mirza Muhammad b. Rustam mu tamad Khan Rustam (12th century)

B.NUZUL AL ABRAR

Delhi 1356

26. Ghulam Ali Azad of Bilgram (1200)

1. Autobiography in the Ma athir folio 206

2. Ditto in the Suhah 118

3. Ithaf 530

4. Abjad 920

5. Hada 1q 454

6. Beale 86

7. Rieu Pers.

8. Tadhkirah 184

9. Mahbub 857

10. Hayat-i-Jalil by S. Maqbul Ahmad, p.163-178

For other works of his, see sections

VIII, XI

C.DAW AL DARARI, SHARH SAHIIH AL BUKHARI

upto KITAB AL DHIKR

Ithaf 56

27. Muhammad Kurtada b. Muhammad b. Muhammad Abd al-Razzaq al-Zabidi (1205)

For other works of his, see sections

I, III, IV, IX.

B.1. RISALAH FI AHADITH YAWM AL ASHURA
Cairo VII 209

2. AMALI AL SHAYKHUNIYYAH
Berlin 10255

C.1. AL AZHAR AL MUTANATHIRAH FI AL AHADITH

AL MUTAWATIRAH

2. DARR AL DAR FI HABITH UMM ZAR

3. TAKHRIJ HADITH 'SHAYYABATNI SURAH HUD

4. AL MAWAHIB AL JALIYYAH FI SHARH MA

YATA ALLAHU BI'L HADITH AL AWWALIYYAH

5. AL MIRQAT AL JALIYYAH FI SHARH AL

HADITH AL MUSALSAL BI'L AWWALIYYAH

6. AL QAWL AL SAHIIH FI MARATIB AL

TA DIL WA'L TAJRIH (1230)

7. RISALAH FI USUL AL HADITH sections 1.

28. Alim al-Din b. Fasih al-Din Qannawji (compiled in 1216)

1. Abjad 932 LI'L HAZIB

2. Hada iq 468

3. Tadhkirah 148

For other works of his, see section IX.

C. DAR AL FADA IL FI SHARH AL SHAMA IL
Ithaf 101

29. Abd al-Basit Qannawji (1225)

~~1. Ithaf 426~~~~2. Tadhkirah 179~~~~3. Tadhkirah 197~~

For other works of his, see sections

I, III, V IX.

C.1. ARBA IN

Ithaf 10

2. SHARH DALA IL AL KHAYRAT

Ibid 80

30. Salam Allah Muhaddith b. Shaykh al Islam (1229)

For other works of his, see sections

I, IV.

B. MIHALLA, SHARH AL MUWATTA

Bankipur 127; Delhi 180

C. RISALAH FI USUL AL HADITH

Tadhkirah 77

31. Abd al Ali Bahr al Ulum of Lucknow. (1235)

1. Hada iq 467

2. Tadhkirah 123

3. Beale 2

4. Encyy. Islam I 584

5. J.A.S.B.(New series)II 694

5. Buhar No. 142

For other works of his, see sections

III, IV, V, VI, VII.

B. RISALAH FI TAQSIM AL HADITH

Rampur 126

32. Shah Abd al- Aziz b. Shah Wali Allah (1239)

For other works of his, see sections I,

IV, V, VI, VIII, IX, X, XI.

A. RISALAH FI MA YAJIB HIFZUHU LI'L NAZIR

Bri. Mus.

B. AZIZ AL IQTIBAS

Rampur 95; Asafiyyah 646

33. Muhammad Isma'il b. Abd al-Ghani of Delhi (1246)

1. Ithaf 426

2. Abjad 916

3. Tadhkirah 179

For other works of his, see sections III,

2. Tadhkirah 202

3. Bankipur 240

For other works of his, see section III.

A. 1. AL MAWAHIB AL LATIFAH ALA MUSNAD ABI

B. SHARH HANIFAH

Bri. Mus.

CSS. Bankipur 240; Delhi 301

2. TARTIB MUSNAD IMAM ABI HANIFAH

C. 1. SHARH TAYSIR WUSUL ILA AHADITH AL RASUL.

Tadhkirah 202; Abjad 850

2. SHARH BULUGH AL MARAM

Ibid

37. Muhammad Ishaq, son of Shah wali Allah's Daughter (1262)

Tadhkirah 178

C. ARBA IN FI FADL AL HAJJ WA'L UMRAH

Ithaf 11

33. Ahmad Hasan b. V.X. (1277)

A. TANWIR AL AYNAYN FI ITHBAT RAF AL YADAY

Bri.Mus.

B. AL IDRAK LI TAKHRIJ AHADITH RADD AL ISHRA

Cairo II 47

34. Irtida Ali Khan b. Mustafa Ali Khan (1251)

century) Bankipur

1. Tadhkirah 21

2. Mu jam al matbu at 421

B. For other works of his, see sections

VI, IX.

35. Wali Allah b. B. MADARIJ AL ISNAD (13th century)

Asafiyyah 666.

35. Sayyid Abu Ahmad Awlad ~~Ali~~ Hasan b. Ali B. Lutf Allah

Qannawji (1253)

1. Ithaf 235

2. Abjad 935

C. ARBA IN

Ithaf 9

36. Muhammad Abid al-Sindi (1257)

1. Abjad 850

2. Tadhkirah 202

3. Bankipur 240

For other works of his, see section III.

37. Wali Allah A. 1. AL MAHAJIB AL LATIFAH ALA MUSNAD ABI

B. SHARH HANIFAH

Bri.Mus.

C. 1. SHARH TAYSIR WUSUL ILA AHADITH AL RASUL.

2. TARTIB MUSNAD IMAM ABI HANIFAH

3. Abi 'I. Tadhkirah 202; Abjad 850

4. 2. SHARH BULUGH AL MARAM

Ibid

37. Muhammad Ishaq, son of Shah wali Allah's Daughter (1262)

1. Tadhkirah 173

C. ARBA IN FI FADL AL HAJJ WA'L UMRAH

Ithaf 11

38. Ahmad Hasan b. Awlad Hasan (1277)

Abjad 936

1. Muhammad b. Isma'il al-Shaykh al-Hindi (composed in
C. SHIHAB THAQIB, AL MULAQQAB BI HADITH
642)

AL ADHKIYA

Ithaf 102

39. Shaykh Mubarak b. Arzani al-Ruhtaki al-Banarasi (13th century) ~~Bankipur~~

See Bankipur 364

B. MADARIJ AL AKHBAR

Ibid

40. Wali Allah b. Ghulam Muhammad Surati (13th century)

See Bankipur ~~364~~ 406

B. AL TANBIHAT

Ibid

41. Works of unknown dates.

1. Umar b. Arif al-Nahrwali

See Loth 131

B. AL FAYD AL NABAWI FI USUL AL HADITH
WA FAHARIS AL BUKHARI

Ibid

2. Shah Muhammad Ghawth of Peshawar

B. RISALAH FI USUL AL HADITH

Peshawar 439

3. Wajih Allah b. Mujib Allah b. Muhammad al-Hindi

B. SHARH ARBA IN AL NAWAWI

(after 736)

Asafiyyah 634

4. Shaykh Faqir Allah b. Abd al-Rahim Shikarpuri

B. WATHIQAT AL AKABIR

Peshawar 375.

5. Abu 'l Fath Abd al-Rashid Muhammad al-Kashmiri

A. NUZUL MAN ITTAQA BI KASHF AL AHWAL AL MUNTAQA

Rampur p.139

6. Muhammad abu 'l Tayyib al-Sindi b. Abd al-Qadir

A. SHARH TIRMIDHI

Bri. Mus.

SECTION III

FIQH

1. Muhammad b. Ima'il al Khatib Nazil Dihli (composed in 642)

B. SIWAN AL QADA

Asafiyyah

2. Shaykh Safiyy al-Din al-Hindi (715)

1. Al-durr al-kaminah (under the name Safi)

2. Abjad 806.

C. AL NIHAYAH FI AL USUL

Abjad

3. Mu'in al-Din 'Imrani Dihlawi (in the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq-725)

1. Akhbar 142

2. Abd al-Haqq (Elliot vi 486)

3. Subhah 37

4. Ma athir 237

5. Abjad 892

6. Hada iq 304

7. Tadhkirah 228

C.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA KANZ AL DAQA IQ

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL HUSAMI

3. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL MANAR

4. Abu Bakr Ishaq b. Taj al-Din Abu 'lHasan, called Ibn Taj (after 736)

For other works of his, see sections I, IV

B.1. KITAB AL HAJJ WA'L MANASIK

Berlin 4064

2. KHULASAT AL AHKAM BI SHARA IT AL IMAN

WA'L ISLAM

Berlin 1798-9

5. Qadi Hamid al-Din Dihlawi (764)

1. Khalifah vi 492

2. Ma athir 234

3. Subhah 29

7. KASHIF NA'AMAT AL HADI' AL USUL WA

4. Abjad 891

SHARH MUHAMMAD AL HADI' SHARH BADI'

5. Hada iq 291

AL USUL

6. Tadhkirah

C. SHARH HIDAYAT AL FIQH

B. SHARH HIDAYAT

6. Husam al-Din Dihlawi (770)

B. AL BIHAR AL DHAKHIRAH

9. ZUBDAT AL HADIS VI' L HADISIN

Asafiyyah

7. Abu Hafs Siraj al-Din Umar b. Ishaq al-Hindi (773)

8. Sayyid Yusuf b. Sayyid Jamal Husayni Dihlawi (790)

For other works of his, see sec-

tions II, IV, V, IX.

For other work of his, see section

B.1. SHARH MUGHNI

Berlin 4384, 'Atif 703; Lalah 11 743;

C. TARTIH AL KALAM SHARH AL MANAR

Q111j 'Ali 306; (see Brockelmann

II 220)

9. 'Alim b. 'Ala al-Hamafi Asafiyah (in the time of Miran

Shah Tughlaq-790)

2. FATAWA QARI AL HIDAYAH

Rampur 227

10. 'Alim b. 'Ala al-Hamafi (Khalif vi 487)

3. ZUBDAT AL AHKAM FI IKHTILAF A IMMAT

B. AL FATAWA AL TATAM KHARIFAH

AL A'LAM

Fathawar 620; Asafiyyah 1033

Berlin 4862; Delhi 1951

10. 'Ali b. Ahmad Dihlawi (820)

4. AL GHURRAT AL MUNIFAH FI TARJIH

For other works of his, see sections

MADHHAB ABI HANIFAH

11.

Asafiyyah 1096

A. FIQH AL-SHAKHSIYAH

5. AL FATAWA AL SIRAJIYYAH

Biri. 1000

Miftah 990

11. Shihab al-Din b. Husam al-Din b. Umar Sawali Daulatabadi

(840)

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Kabir

C.1. AL TAWSHIH, SHARH AL HIDAYAH (saghir)

1. Khalifah vi 485

2. SHARH AL HIDAYAH (saghir)

3. Ibid

3. SHARH JAMI' SAGHIR

5. Tadhkirah 151

4. SHARH JAMI' KABIR

5. Ibid

5. SHARH AL MANAR

Ibid

6. SHARH AL MUKHTAR

7. KASHIF MA'ANI AL BADI' AL USUL WA
BAYAN MUSHKILIH AL MANI', SHARH BADI'
AL USUL

Khalifah works of his, see sections

8. SHARH ZIYADAT

Tadhkirah 151

9. 'UDDAT AL NASIK FI'L MANASIK

Ibid athir fol 243

8. Sayyid Yusuf b. Sayyid Jamal Husayni Multani (790)

Tadhkirah 256

For other work of his, see section

IX.

C. TANJIH AL KALAM, SHARH AL MANAR

Tadhkirah 256

9. 'Alim b. 'Ala al-Hanafi Andapathi (in the time of Firuz
Shah Tughlaq-790)

1. Abd al-Haqq (Elliot vi 487)

B. AL FATAWA AL TATAR KHANIYYAH

Peshawar 626; Asafiyyah 1052

10. 'Ali b. Ahmad Maha imi (835)

For other works of his, see sections

I, IV.

A. FIQH IK -I-MAKHDUMI

Bri. Mus.

11. Shihab al-Din b. Shams al-Din b. Umar Zawuli Dawlatabadi
(844)

14. Qadi Chakar (920) 1. Akhbar

2. Firishtah ii 595

3. Tabaqat fol 60

4. Ma athir fol 241

5. Subhah 39

6. Abjad 895

7. Akhbar nuhat 128

8. hada iq 319

9. Tadhkirah 88

7. SHARH BADI' AL USUL

Khalifah

8.

(242)

II. HATHIRAT AT-DIN P. QURAN AT-DIN P. HATHIRAT AT-DIN P. HATHIRAT AT-DIN P.

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IO. HATHIRAT AT-DIN P. HATHIRAT AT-DIN P. (243)

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HATHIRAT AT-DIN P.

15. *Ushhad Jumhuri* (932)10. *Tajalli*For other 11. *Ency. Islam I* 932I, IX 12. *Storey No. 16*B. SHARH For other works of his, see sections
V, IX, X

C. SHARH USUL BAZDAWI

12. *Sa'd al-Din Khayrabadi* (882)1. *Ha athir fol* 24316. *Shirab al-Din Ahmad b. Muhammad* 2. *Subhan* 42(attached to the court of 3. *Abjad* 894941-943) 4. *Hada iq* 3365. *Tadhkirah* 75

For other works, see sections IV, IX

C. 1. SHARH USUL BAZDAWI

Tadhkirah 76

2. SHARH AL HUSAMI

*Hada iq*113. *Abu al-Fada al-Sa'd al-Din Dihlawi* (891)1. *Tadhkirah* 762. *Brockelmann II* 220~~SHARH USUL BAZDAWI~~

B. X. IFADAT AL ANWAR, SHARH AL MANAR

Asafiyyah 98; *Koprili* 508;*Damad Ibrahim* 483; *Wali al-Din*16. *Wali al-Din* 978; *Aya Sifiyyah* 988.

C. SHARH KANZ AL DAQA IQ

*Tadhkirah*14. *Qadi Chakan* (920)1. See *Khalifah III* 1352. *Brockelmann II* 2213. *Buhar No.* 156

B. KHIZANAT AL RIWAYAT

19. *Shaykh* Constantinople: *Wali* 1437; *Nur 'Uthmani*1520; *'Ashir* 326; *Buhar* 156; *Bengal II* 352;*Loth* 276; *Rampur* 172; *Asafiyyah* 1084; *Yeni*

605.

15. Ilahdad Jawnpuri (932) 4. Safinat al-saliya 101

For other works of his, see sections

I, IX 6. Tadhkirah 40

B.SHARH AL HIDAYAH 131 ARADT AL HIED.

Constantinople: Salimiyyah 433; 'Atif

20. Rahmat Allah b. 'Abd 962; Wali 1319; Peshawar 516-7

C.SHARH USUL BAZDAWI al-safir folio 188

Tadhkirah 25 al-sa irah Vol 204

16. Shihab al-Din Ahmad b. Muhammad entitled Nizam al-Jilani
(attached to the court of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah of Bijapur
941-965)

6. Sa'adat al-Din II 416

See Buhar 159; Nadhir Ahmad 46

B.FATAWA IBRAHIM SHAHIYYAH A USAN AL

Buhar 159; Asafiyyah 1052; Delhi 644;

Miftah 979; Calcutta 40; Nadhir Ahmad

40. 533. Rangar 224; Miftah 1039

17. Sayyid 'Abd al-Awwal Zayduri (963) 1. 'Abd al-Awwal AL NASIR

See section II for other works .

~~xxxxxx~~ 270; Salimiyyah

C. 1. NAZM AL FRA ID AL SIRAJIYYAH

1. Hada iq 375

B. 2. SHARH AL FRA ID AL SIRAJIYYAH

Ibid

18. Zayn al-Din b. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Ma'bari (after 987)

For other works of his, see sections

II, VIII. VI FATAWA BI AL SHA FI-

A. 1. QURRAT AL 'AYN BI IBRAHIM.

Bri. Mus. VII 386.

21. Makhdum al-Sala 2. PATH AL MU'IN BI SHARH QURRAT AL

'AYN. Bada uhi III 70

Ibid. folio 209 b

19. Shaykh Jalal Thanasari (989) 1. athir al usara III 252

1. Haft Iqlim No. 380

2. Akhbar 277

3. Bada uhi III 3

4. Safinat al-awliya 101

For other works of his, see sections VI, IX.

5. Tabaqat fol 192

B. RISALAH FI AL

6. Tadhkirah 40

A. RISALAH FI TAHQIQ ARADI AL HIND.

23. Tajik al-Din Gajarat (990) Bri.-usi

20. Rahmat Allah b. 'Abd Allah al-Sindi (990)

V. IL.

1. Al-mur al-safir folio 153

B. HASHTIYAN ALA

2. Al-kawhib al-sa irah Fol 204

3. Akhbar 273

C. 1. HASHTIYAN

4. Tarb al-amathil 220

HUSHTIYAN

5. Brockelmann II 416

Tadhkirah

6. Tadhkirah 62

A. 1. LUBAB AL MANASIK WA UBAB AL

MASALIK

B. HASHTIYAN

See Mu'jam 930

ESS. Rampur 224; Miftah 1039

23. Shaykh Hamid b. 'Abd 2. MAJMA' AL MANASIK WA HAF' AL HASIK

See Mu'jam 930

B. AL

MS. Cairo III 270; Sulaymaniyyah

1912

412 (where wrongly assigned to

'Abd Allah b. Ibrahim)

24. Nur Allah Shuster B. 1. AL MANSAK AL SAGHIR

For oth Berlin 4055

2. AL MANSAK AL AWSAT

B. MINAYAT AL

Peshawar 835

Miftah

3. RISALAH FI IQTIDA BI AL SHA FI-

B. 1. RISALAH

'IYYAH WA KHTILAF BI DHALIK.

Cairo VII 386.

21. Makhdum al-Mulk 'Abd Allah Sultanpuri 990)

1914

1. Bada uni III 70

B. RISALAH FI

2. Tabaqat folio 209 b

1914

3. Ma athir al umara III 252

A. HASHTIYAN

4. Hada iq 397

1913

5. Beale 7

B. RISALAH FI

6. Tadhkirah 103

For other works of his, see sections VI, IX.

B. RISALAH FI AL MUBAH

Bengal II 41

22. Wajih al-Din Gujarati (998)

For other works of his, see sections I, II,
V, IX.

B. HASHIYAH ALA SHARH AL WIQAYAH

Buhar 164; Rampur 186

C. 1. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL SHARH AL 'ADUDI 'AL

MUKHTASAR IBN AL HAJIB

Tadhkirah 250

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA USUL AL BAZDAWI

Ibid

3. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL TALWIH

Ibid

23. Shaykh Hamid b. Abd Allah b Ibrahim al-Sindi (1009)

Muhibbi II 327

B. AL QAWL AL HASAN FI JAWAZ IQTIDA BI AL

IMAM AL SHAFI'I FI AL NAWAFI WA AL SUNAN.

Rampur 238

24. Nur Allah Shustari (1019)

For other works of his, see sections
I, II, V, VI, IX.

B. NIHAYAT AL AQDAM

Miftah 1096; Bengal I 1074.

C. 1. RISALAH FI NAJAST AL KHAMR

Kashf

2. RISALAH FI GHUSL AL JUMA'AH

Ibid

3. RISALAH FI TAQDIR AL MA AL KATHIR

Ibid

4. HASHIYAH 'AL AL HIDAYAH

IBID

5. RISALAH FI AL KAFFARAH

6. HASHIYAH 'AL AL QAWA'ID AL AHKAM FI AL

FIQH

7. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL WIQAYAH

8. AL LUM'AH FI SALAT AL JUM'AH

25. 'Abd al-Hakim al-Siyalkuti (1067)

For other works of his, see sections

I, V, VI, IX.

A. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL HUSAMI

See Peshawar 527

B. HASHIYAH 'ALA MUQADDIMAT AL TALWIH

Asafiyyah 92; Peshawar 575; Rampur 270;

Leth 326; Constantinople: Asad 458; Jami'

Jami' Sharifi 252; Dih-bash 229; Asad Aya

458; Lalah li 709;

26. 'Abd Al-Salam of Diwah (in the time of Shahjahan)

See section II

B. ISHRAHAT AL MA'ALIYYAH, SHARH AL MANAR

Miftah 740; Nadhir Ahmad

27. 'Abd al Rashid Jawnpuri (1083)

1. Ma athir folio 260

2. Subhah 66

3. Abjad 902

4. Hada iq 456

5. Tajalli 49-61

6. Tadhkirah 119

For other works of his, see sections VI.

C. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL SHARH AL 'ADUDI

Tadhkirah

28. Mu'in al-Din b. Khwajah Mahmud Naqshbandi (1085)

B. FATAWA-I-NAQSHBANDIYAH

Rampur 229; Miftah 1009

29. 'Abd Allah b. 'Abd al-Hakim al-Siyalkuti (11 th century)

C. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL HIDAYAH

See the Farhat al-nazirin (Oriental

Magazine of Lahore XIV 74)

30. 'Abd al-Labib b. 'Abd al-Hakim al-Siyalkuti (11th century)

For other works of his, see section I, IX

B.1. ZAD AL LABIB FI SAFAR AL HABIB

Peshawar 591

2. AL TASRIH BI GHAWAMID AL TALWIN

Loth 327

31. Shaykh Nizam (and other scholars) (by order of Awrangzib)

1. 'Alamgir namah 1087

2. Farhat al-nazirin (Oriental Magazine XIV 73)

3. Tadhkirah 242

A. PATAWA-1-'ALAMGIRI (or AL PATAWAY AL HINDIYYAH)

MSS. Berlin 4841-2; Loth 275; Bri.

Mus. Supp. 299; 300; Delhi 618; Rampur 225; Asafiyyah 1056; Bengal A.c. 39;

Asad Aya 1102; Nur 'Uthmani 47; Cairo III 93; Miftah 995.

32. Muhibb Allah b. 'Abd al-Shakur Bihari ~~(1119)~~ (1119)

1. Ma athir folio 269

2. Subhah 76

3. Abjad 905

4. Brockelmann II 420

5. Jurji Zaydan II 337

6. Tadhkirah 175

7. Ency. Islam I 717

8. JASB. of 1913 p. 295

A. MUSALLAM AL THUBUT

Bri. Mus.

MSS. Miftah 757; Rampur 278.

B. MINHIYYAH 'ALA MUSALLAM AL THUBUT

Rampur 279

33. Mufti Abu al-Barakat b. Shaykh Husam al-Din (in the time of Awrangzib)

Tadhkirah 35 (under Turab 'Ali)

B. JAMI' (or MAJMA') AL BARAKAT

Miftah 1044; Delhi 651

34. Mulla Muhammad Muhsin Kashu Kashmiri (1119)

1. Rawdat al-abrar 58

2. Hada iq 432

3. Tadhkirah 212

For other work of his, see section IX.

C.HASHIYAH 'ALA AL HIDAYAH

Tadhkirah

35. Mulla Ahmad Jiwan (1130)

See section I

A.NUR AL ANWAR, SHARH AL MANAR

Bri.Mus.

MS. Kth Loth 316; Delhi 480

36. Aman Allah b. Nur Allah Banarasi (1133)

For other works of his see sections

I.V, VI

B.MUKHAM AL USUL

Bengal I 902

1. C./MUFASSIR FI AL USUL

Tadhkirah 27

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL TALWIH

IBID

/37. Baha al-Din ~~xx~~ Muhammad b. Taj al-Din Hasan called
Fadil-i-Hindi

Nujum 211

For other works of his, see sections

V, IX

A. KASH ~~xx~~ LITHAM AL IBHAM FI SHARH

QAWA'ID AL AHKAM

Bri.Mus.

C.1. AL ZUBDAH FI USUL AL DIN

Kashf

2. /MANAHIJ AL NABAWIYYAH FI SHARH AL

RAWDAT AL BAHIYYAH

Nujum 211

3. KITAB AL KHAUD AL JARIYAH FI AL USUL

Ibid

38. Abu al Hasan b. 'Abd al-Hadi al-Sindi (1138)

43. Hamid Allah b. Shukr Allah al-Sindi (1160)

See section I

B. MANHAL AL HUDAT FI SHARH MU'ADDIL

AL SALAT

Asafiyyah 1106; Lalah 11 1021

39. 'Inayat Allah Qadiri Lahori (1141)

44. Shalla Nizam al-Din b. Quth al-Din al-Sindi (1161)

Tadhkirah 152

C.1. MULTAQAT AL HAQA IQ, SHARH KANZ

AL DAQA IQ

2. GHAYAT AL HAWASHI 'ALA SHARH

AL WIQAYAH

40. 'Abd Al Nabi b. Qadi 'Abd Al Rasul al-'Uthmani of
Ahmadnagar (after 1144)

Tadhkirah 135

B. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL FARA ID AL

SIRAJIYYAH

Asafiyyah 1082

41. Shah Khub Allah Muhammad Yahya of Allahabad (1144)

Tadhkirah 58

For other works of his, see section
IV, V.

C. AL QAWL AL SAHIIH FI SALAT AL TASBIH

45. Muhammad Hashim b. 'Abd al-Qader al-Sindi (1174)

Tadhkirah 58

42. Nur al-Din b. Shaykh Muhammad Ahmadabadi (1155)

1. Ma athir folio 281

2. Subhah 94

3. Ithaf 427

4. Abjad 911

5. Hada iq 443

6. Tadhkirah 247

For other works of his, see sections I, II,
IV, V, VI, IX.

C.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL TALWIH

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL WIQAYAH

3. HASHIYAH ALA AL MATALI'

43. Hamd Allah b. Shukr Allah al-Sandili (1160)

1. Tadhkirah 52

2. Mahbub 423

B.SHARH ZUBDAT AL USUL

Miftah 725; Bengal I 553

44. Mulla Nizam al-Din b. Qutb al-Din al-Sihalawi (1161)

1. Ma athir fol. 282

2. Subhan 94

3. Abjad 911

4. Hada iq 445

5. Tadhkirah 241

45. Mulla Nur Muhammad For other works of his, see sections
(1195) V, VI.

B.1.SHARH MUSALLAM AL THUBUT

Loth 332; Bengal I 602; Buhar

140; Asafiyyah 98; Miftah 735;

Rampur 274.

2. SUBH SADIQ SHARH AL MANAR

Rampur 275

3. SHARH AL TAHRIR FI USUL AL DIN

Bengal I 536

45. Muhammad Hashim b. 'Abd al Ghafur al-Sindi (1174)

See sections II, V.

A.FARA ID AL ISLAM

Bri.Mus.

B.1.RISALAH FI WAD' AL YADAYN TAHT AL

50. Qadi Ahmad 'Ali b. SURRAH

Peshawar 598

2.AL BIYAD F I AL FIQH

Miftah 804

3. RISALAH FAKIHAT AL BUSTAN

IBID 897

46. Shah Wali Allah b. Abd Al-Rahim of Delhi (1176)

See sections I, II, IV, V, X, XI.

A.1.'IQD AL JID FI AHKAM AL IJTIHAD WA

AL TAQLID

Bri.Mus.

MSS. Asafiyyah 98; Rampur Miftah

2711 ;Rampur 276.

2. AL INSAF FI BAYAN SABAB AL IKHTILA

Bri.Mus.

MSS. Miftah 2614/3 Bengal I 82.

Rampur 281

47. Rustam 'Ali b. 'Ali Asghar al-Qannawji (1178)

See section I

C.SHARH AL MANAR

Abjad 932

48. Mulla Nur Muhammad Called Nur Baba Patlu Kashmiri
(1195)

1.Hada iq 453

2. Tadhkirah 248

For other works of his, see sections
V, IX

B. HASHIYAH 'ALA HASHIYAT AL SIYALKUTI
'ALA AL TALWIH
Miftah 708;Rampur 270

b.

49. Mulla Muhammad/Ghulam Mustafa of Lucknow (1198)

1.Tadhkirah 185

2. Mahbub 191

3.Buhar No. 310 ii

See sections V, VI.

B.SHARH MUSALLAM AL THUBUT

Delhi 473;Rampur 275;Asafiyyah96.

50. Qadi Ahmad 'Ali b. Fath Allah Husayni al-Sandili (1200)

Tadhkirah 20.

See section VI.

C.RISALAH FARA ID HANAFI

51. Sahib-zadah Miyan Muhammadi (12th century)

B. BUR HAN AL USUL

Peshawar 581

52. Muhammad A'lam al-Sandili (12th century)

Tadhkirah 180

52. Wira' Hasan 'Ali b. For other work of his, see section VI

B. AL MATHAL AL SA'IB FI KASHF AL DA'IR

Delhi 1575

53. Mulla Barakat (12th century)

59. Sayyid Baidar 'Ali b. See Bankipur X 545 (35)

For other works of his, see sections

V, VI, VII.

B. SHARH MUSALLAM AL THUBUT.

Rampur 144

54. Muhammad Murtada Zabidi (1205)

For other works of his, see sections

I, II, IV, V, IX.

A.1. NASHWAT AL IRTIYAH FI BAYAN HAQIQAT

AL MAYSIR WA AL QIDAH

Bri. Mus.

MS. Berlin 5502

60. 'Abd al-'Ali b. 2. 'UQUD JAWAHIR AL MUNIFAH FI ADILLAT

ABI HANIFAH

Bri. Mus.

C.1. KASHF AL GHITA 'AN AL SALAT AL WUSTA

Tadhkirah 225

2. AL INTIFAL BI SAWM AL SITTAH MIN

SHAWWAL

Ibid

55. Muhammad Qasim b. Da'im al-Bardawani (composed in 1209)

B. BID'AT AL MUFTIN

Bengal II 94

56. 'Abd Al-Basit b. Rustam 'Ali Qannawji (1223)

See sections II, IX.

61. Muhammad 'Abd al-'Ali b. B. SHARH MUKHTASAR AL FARA ID

Miftah 2545/2

57. Mulla Mubin b. Mulla Muhibb Allah (1225)

Tadhkirah 211

See sections V, VI

62. Muhammad b. B. SHARH MUSALLAM AL THUBUT

Miftah 736; Rampur 274

58. Mirza Hasan 'Ali Saghir Muhaddith of Lucknow (1226)

Tadhkirah 48

C. TUHFAT AL MUSHTAQ FI AL NIKAH
WA SUDAQ

59. Sayyid Dildar 'Ali al-Mujtahid al-SHI'I (1235)

1. Nujum 346

2. Tadhkirah 60

For other works of his, see sections

V.

B. ISAS AL USUL

Asafiyyah 88; Bengal II 92 92

C.1. SHARH BAB AL SAWM MIN HADIQAT AL
MUTTAQIN

Tadhkirah

2. SHARH BAB AL ZAKAT MIN HADIQAT AL
MUTTAQIN

60. 'Abd al-'ALI Bahr al 'Ulum (1235)

See sections II, IV, V, VI, VII.

A.1. FAWATIH AL RAHMUT FI SHARH MUSALLAH
AL THUBUT

Bri. Mus.

MSS. Delhi 420; Rampur 277

2. RISALAH AL ARKAN AL ARBA'AH

See Buhar 167

MSS. Buhar 164; Rampur 196

3. TANWIR AL MANAR SHARH AL MANAR

Bri. Mus.

C. SHARH FIQH AKBAR

Tadhkirah 123

62. Muhammad 'Abid al-Sindi (1257)

See section II

C. TA WIL AL ANWAR 'ALA AL DURR
AL MUKHTAR

Tadhkirah 202

61. Muhammad b. Isma'il b. 'Abd Al-Ghani Of Delhi (1246)

See sections II, V, X.

62. Mulla Ahmad 'Ali b. ...
A.RISALAH FI USUL AL FIQH

Bri.Mus.

63. Mulla Ghufuran b. Mulla Ta'ib (1260)

B.JANG MASA IL

Rampur 183

64. Mulla Nur Al-Din b. Iama'il Rampuri (1270)

See section VI

B.KITAB AL TAQWA WA RISALAH AL HUSNA

Rampur 239

65. Wali Allah Of Lucknow (1270)

Tadhkirah 252

See sections V,VI,VIII.

C.1. NAFA IS AL MALAKUT, SHARH MU-
SALLAN AL THUBUT.

Tadhkirah 252

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL HIDAYAH

Ibid

66. Abu 'ABd Allah Husayn b. Sayyid Dildar 'Ali (1271)

See sections I, IV, V, VI.

B. AL WAJIZ AL RA IQ

Bengal I 1086

C.1. RAWDAT AL AHAKAM

Kashf

2. RISALAH FI ANNAHU HAL

YAJUZU LI AL MUTABAHHAIRIN

FI AL ISTIHAD AN YA'MALU 'ALA
RA YIHIM

Ibid

67. Khadim Ahmad Farangi Mahalli (1271)

1. Hada iq 746

2. Tadhkirah 56

See section VI.

B. AB-SA'ADAT AL ABADIYYAH

TAHQIQ AL DA IRAT AL HINDIYYAH

Delhi 578

C. TA'LIQAH 'ALA SHARH AL WIQAYAH

Tadhkirah 56

68. Mulla Ahmad 'Ali Rampuri (1275) b. Ahmad al-Qasbi

B.NIZAM -i-YUSUFI

Rampur 256

69. Siraj al Din 'Ali Khan (in the service of the Hon'ble East India Company)

8. 'Ata al-Siddiqi b. A. JAMI' AL TA'ZIRAT MIN KITAB AL

B. THUQAT

Bri.Mus. 714;Rampur 114

9. Shaykh Miyan of Lucknow ~~MS. Delhi 712~~

WORKS OF UNKNOWN DATES.

1. Abu al-Fath Rukn b. Husam Nagori

10. Muhammad Shah ~~1. Beale 23~~

2. Buhar 162

A.AL FATAWA AL HAMMADIYYAH

11. Badr b. Taj b. 'Ali ~~see bengal A.c. 14~~

MSS. Miftah 988;Buhar 162;Delhi 518;

Asafiyyah 1054;Rampur 222;Calcutta 41

2. 'Ali b. Ahmad Sa'Id Malabari

A.HASHIYAH 'ALA FATH AL MU'IN

Bri.Mus.

3. 'Abd al-Ghani 'Abbasi Gawaliyari

B.ASAS AL USUL

Rampur 266

4. Sahib-zadah miyan Gul of Chamkan (in Peshawar)

~~xx~~ B.LA IQ AL SUM'AH FI TAHQIQ AL

JUMU'AH

Peshawar 654

5. Mi'mat Allah b. Tahir al-Nahrwali

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~TRA

B. SALAT AL TIRAWIH

Peshawar 695

6. Shaykh Abu al Tayyib al-Sindi

See section II

B.QURRAT AL ANZAR,HASHIYAH 'ALA

TANWIR AL MANAR

Peshawar 547

7. Taqi al-Din Abu al-Baqa Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Qannawji

B.1.8. MUNTAHA AL MURADAT

1. Miftah 1079

2. SHARH MUNTAHA AL MURADAT (in the

only part of the ... Ibid 951

8. 'Ata al-Siddiqi Samarqandi Shahjahanpuri

B. RISALAH 'UTHUR ILA DAR AL SARUR

Delhi 714; Rampur 214

9. Shaykh Miyan of Lucknow

B. ~~FATAWA~~ FATAWA MUKHTASAR SHAFI'I

Bengal A.c. 59

10. Muhammad Sharif of Lucknow

B. MULHAM AL GHAYB

Miftah 1078

11. Badr b. Taj b. 'Abd al-Rahim Lahori

B. MATALIB AL MU MININ

1070

7. Taqi al-Din Abu al-Baqa Muhammad b. Ahmad al Qannawji
 B.RISALAH 'UTHUR ILA DAR AL SARUR
 Delhi 714; Rampur 214
8. 'Ata al-Siddiqi Samarqandi Shahjahanpuri

SECTION IV

SUFISM, ETHICS ETC.

1. Shaykh Jamal al-Din Hansawi al-Khatib, one of the Khali-fahs of the famous Saint Farid al-Din Shakarganj (in the early part of the 8th century)

1. A in-i-Akbari II 219

2. Akhbar 67 ASHAR AL NUQTAT

3 Tadhkirah 42

A. MULHAMAT AL GHAYBIYYAH.

Bri.Mus. 11381, Mus. 400;

2. Mulla Nizam al-Din 'Allami (735)

C. 1. ADAB Tajalli 22

C.ZAD AL SULAHA

Ibid

3. Abu Bakr Ishaq b. Taj al-Din Abu al-Hasan al-Multani called Ibn Taj (After 736)

See sections I, III.

B.1. DHIKR AL DHIKR AL AKBAR

Berlin 3349

4. Baha al-Din b. 2. NISBATU KHIRQAT AL TASAWWUF

Ibid 3348

4. Abu Hafs Siraj al-Din Umar b. Ishaq al-Hindi (773)

See sections II, III, V, IX.

7. 'Abd al-Hadi B. LAWAQIH AL ANWAR FI AL RADD 'ALA

HAN AMHARA 'AL AL 'ARIFIN MIN LATA IF

AL ASRAR. 122 Tazkirah 376

8. Sayyid Muhammad Gorn Berlin 3322 (626)

C. KITAB AL TASAWWUF 122

Tadhkirah 161

5. Amir Kabir Sayyid 'Ali b. Shihab al-Din al-Hamadani (786)

See sections I, II.

A. Al awrad al fathiyyah

See Brockelmann II 221

MSS. Leid 2196; Loth 368-9; Stewart p.

11. B. Zayn al-Din b. 'Ali al-Bri. Mus. 890-1
2. MANAZIL AL SALIKIN
Ibid 890 v
3. RISALAH KI ILA HA IM MIN LAWMAT
AL LA IM AMIYYA ILA RABIQ AL
Delhi 1869/b
4. AL QUDSIYYAH FI ASRAR AL NUQTAT
AL HISSIYYAH ILA ASRAR AL
HUWAYYAT AL GHAYBIYYAH.
Loth 693 11; Bri. Mus. 406;
Cairo vii 548
- C. 1. ADAB AL MURIDIN
Tadhkirah 148
2. SHARH AL ASMA AL HUSNA
Ibid
3. SHARH FUSUS AL HIKAM
Tabaqat folio 13b
4. SHARH QASIDAH IBN
Ibid
6. Baha al-Din b. Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Naqshbandi (791)
Ithaf 26
- A. AL AWRAD AL BAHIIYYAH
Bri. Mus.
7. 'Abd al-Mahasin Sharaf al-Din al-Dihlawi 795
B. 'AYN AL FUSUS, SHARH AL FUSUS
Asa fiyyah 376
8. Sayyid Muhammad Gesu-daraz al Husayni (825)
1. Akhbar 129
2. Tabaqat folio 43b
3. Tadhkirah 82
- B.1. SHARH RISALAH QUSHAYRIYYAH
Asa fiyyah
2. RISALAH FI MAS ILAH RU YAT
Delhi 1952

11.

9. Zayn al-Din b. 'Ali al-Ma'bari (928)

1. Al-sana al-bahir, takmil al-
mur al-safir folio 232-3

2. Brockelmann II 221

A. HIDAYAT AL ADHKIYA ILA TARIQ AL
AWLIYA

15. 'Ali b. Ahmad b. Muhammad (975)

Bri. Mus.

MSS. Cairo II 135; III 258

9.

10. 'Ali b. Ahmad al-Mahimi (835)

See sections I, III.

B. ZAWARIF AL LATA IF FI SHARH

'AWARIF AL MA 'A RIF

Rampur 344

C. 1. KHUSUS AL NI'AM FI SHARH FUSUS
AL HIKAM

Tadhkirah 147

2. SHARH AL NUSUS LI AL SHAYKH

SADR AL DIN QUNAWI

16. 'Ali b. Ahmad al-Mahimi (975)

Ibid

3. ADILLAT AL TAWHID FI SHARH

RISALAH AL TAWHID

Taqriz Fiqh-1- Makhdumi

4. RISALAH AL WUJUD FI SHARH ASMA
AL MA'BUD

Ibid

10. Sa'd al-Din Khayrabadi (882)

See sections III, IX

C. RISALAH MAKKIYYAH

Tadhkirah 76

12. Mirak Shah (956)

Tabaqat folio 168 b

C. SHARH HISN HASIN

Ibid

13. Shaykh 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Dihlawi b. Hasan b. Tahir
Jawnpuri (975)

1. Tabaqat folio 196

2. Tadhkirah 121 AL

C.RISALAH GHYARIYYAH

14. 'Aziz Allah Tulanbi (975) Paris 1383; Berlin 8702;loth

1. Tabaqat folio 152 b Biftah

2. Tadhkirah 139 copy) Bengal

C.RISALAH 'AYNIYYAH: Bankipur xiii

15. 'Ali Muttaqi b. Husam al-Din of Burhanpur (975)

See sections I,II,XI AL

B.1. AL 'UNWAN FI SULUK AL NISWAN

Cairo II 1355, Bengal I 1391

2. AL BURHAN AL JALIYY FI MA'RFAT

AL WALIYY 'ARIFIN

Berlin 3368 1/2

3. AL MAWAHIB AL 'ALIYYAH FI AL

JAM' BAYN AL HIKAM AL QU RANIYYA

WA AL HADITHIYYAH AL HIQYAS

AL MA' Asad Aya 1769; Cairo viii

347 1/2; 996 11

16. 'Isa b. 'Abd al-Rahim of Gujarat (982)

Al-mur al-safir (under the

C. /13. TABAKAT year 982)

A. RISALAH FI JAWAZ AL SAMA'

Bri.Mus.

16. 'Isa b. 'Abd al-Rahim of Gujarat (982)

B.RISALAH FI AL TAWAKKUL

Al-mur al-safir (under the
Bankipur xiii 936
year 982)

17

A.RISALAH FI JAWAZ AL SAMA'

Bri.Mus.

B. RISALAH FI AL TAWAKKUL

Bankipur xiii 936

17. Muhammad Mah Jompuri (compiled in 986)

1. Tajalli 82

2. Tadhkirah 76

B. AL MANSHURAT (or AL MANTHURAT)

AL MUNAZZAH

Asad Aya 300

4. JAWĀMI' AL KILAM FI AL

18. Zayn al-Din b. 'Abd al-'Aziz (1353) MAWA'Z AL HIKAM

Paris 1353; Berlin 8703; Loth

673-4; Cairo vii 348; Miftah

1411 (autographic copy) Bengal

E.43; Rampur 334; Bankipur xiii

19. Abu al Sayd Faydi (1504) 926

5. TATWIB SHARH AL HIKAM AL

MUSAMMA BI AL TANBIH

Delhi 1855, Bengal I 139;

Koprili 735

6. ASRAR AL 'ARIFIN

Miftah 2529/2

7. ZAD AL TALIBIN

Ibid 2529/1

8. NI'M AL HI'YAR WA AL MIQYAS

20. Sayyid Majid al-Din (1529) LI MA'RIFAT MARATIB AL NAS

Sayyid Majid al-Din (1529) Loth 696 ii

9. FATH AL JAWAD

Asafiyyah 1594

C. /X/. TABYIN AL TURAQ

Tadhkirah 147

16. 'Isa b. 'Abd al-Rahim of Gujarat (982)

Al-mur al-safir (under the
year 982)

A. RISALAH FI JAWAZ AL SAMA'

Bri. Mus.

B. RISALAH FI AL TAWAKKUL

Bankipur xiii 936

17. Muhammad Mah Jawnpuri (compiled in 986)

1. Tajalli 62

2. Tadhkirah 276

B. AL MANSHURAT (or AL MANTHURAT)

AL MUNAZZAMAH

Asafiyyah 390

18. Zayn al-Din b. 'Abd al-'Aziz al Ma'Bari (after 987)

See sections II, III, VIII.

B. IRSHAD AL 'IBAD ILA SABIL AL
RASHAD

Rampur 327

19. Abu al Payd Paydi (1004)

See sections I

A. MAWARID AL KIKAM WA SILK ~~AL~~ DURAR
AL HIKAM

See Rampur p. 620

MSS. Nur 'Thmani 3909; Raghib Pasha

1483; Asad Efendi Aya 2924;

Vienna 354; Edinburgh 30; Miftah

1339; Rampur 620; Bengal I 43

Peshawar 1168

20. Sayyid Majd al-Din, called Sibghat Allah of Barwaj b.
Sayyid Ruh Allah (1015)

1. Tabaqat fol 263

2. Ma athir 54

3. Subhah 46

4. Muhibbi II 243

5. Abjad 898

6. Hada iq 401

7. Tadhkirah 91

B. TA'RIB JAWAHIR KHAMSAH LI MUHAMMAD B.
KHATIR AL DIN KNOWN AS GHATH

Loth 761-2; Paris 1197; Cairo II 78;

Berlin 3041; Rampur 334; Bengal

A. f. 7

C. 1. KITAB AL WAHDAT

Muhibbi II 243

2. IRA AT AL DAQA IQ FI SHARH MR AT
AL HAQA IQ

Ibid

3. MA LA YASA' LI AL MURID TARKUHU

KULL YAWM

Ibid

21. 'Imad al-Din Muhammad 'Arif al-'Uthmani called 'ABD al-Nabi al-Shattari (after 1020)

See sections I, II, V, VI, IX, X.

C.1. SHARH AL FUSUS

Tadhkirah 135

2. SHARH AL LATIFAT AL GHYABIYYAH

Ibid

3. JAWAMI' AL KILAM AL SUFI

Ibid

4. MAQAMAT AL 'ARIFIN

Ibid

5. AL FUTUHAT AL GHYABIYYAH

Ibid

6. DASTUR AL SA'ADAH FI BAYAN AL

WILAYAH

7. FAYD AL QUDDUS NAQD AL NUSUS

Ibid

8. BAHR AL KARAM SHARH 'AYN AL 'ILM

Ibid

22. Muhammad b. Fadl Allah al-Hindi (1029)

1. Tabaqat folio 265 b

2. Makinah Muhibbi iv 110

3. Brockelmann II, 418

- B. AL TUNFAT AL MURSILAH ILA AL NABIYY

Berlin 2040; Delhi 1860; Rieu 245

XIII; Rampur 332; Bengal II 55;

Asafiyyah 362; Stewart p. 47

23. Ahmad b. Shaykh 'Abd al-Ahad al-Faruqi Mujaddid al-Thani (1034)

1. Tabaqat 267

2. Subhah 47

3. Abjad 898

4. Hada iq 404

5. Beale 42

See sections V.

C.1. TA'LIQAT AL 'AWARIF

Tadhkirah 12

2. RISALAH TAHLILIYYAH

Ibid

24. 'Abd al-Qadir al-'Aydarus (1038)

See sections I,V,VIII,X.

B. 1. RUH AL RAH WA RAH AL ARWAH

Buhar 126

2. AL MAQALAT AL NAFI'AH WA RISALAH

JAMI'AH

Ibid 457 1

3. AL QAWL AL JAMI' FI BAYAN AL 'ILM

AL NAFI'

Ibid 457 11

4. BUGHYAT AL MUSTAFID BI SHARH

TUHFAT AL MURID

Ibid 111

5. TA'RIF AL AHYA BI PADA IL AL IHYA

Berlin 1713

6. AL ZAHIR AL BASIM

Berlin 3337

7. ASBAB AL NAJAT WA ALNAJAH FI

ADHKRA AL MASA WA AL SABAH

Berlin 3718

8. GHAYAT AL QURB FI SHARH NIHAYAT AL

TALAB

Ibid 3421

9. NAFAS AL ANFAS FI NISBAT AL

KHIRQAT WA'L ILTIBAS

Delhi 1783

27. 'Abd al-Nasir 10. AL DURR AL YATIM FI BAYAN AL

MUHIMIN MIN 'ULUM AL DIN

Berlin 1844

11. Sufistic MUWASHSHAH

Ibid 3422

12. RAJAZ

Berlin 8161 1

C.I. AL FUTUHAH AL QUDDUSIYYAH FI AL

E. SARAFIYAH

KHIRQAT AL 'AYDARUSIYYAH

22. Muhibb Aliyah 2. AL RAWD AL ARID WA'L FAYD AL MUSTAFID

25. 'Abd al-Karim of Lahore (1045) I, VI.

B.1. ASAFIYAH 1. Tadhkirah 131

2. Brockelmann II 420; Miftah

B. 1. RISALAH FI AL TASAWWUF

Asafiyyah 366

2. WASIYYAT AL 'AMMAH

Berlin 4018; Cairo 1882

3. MUNTAHA MATALIB AL SALIKIN

Ibid 3108; I 191

26. Taj al-Din b. Zakariyya (1050)

1. Muhibbi 1 464

C.I. SARAFIYAH 2. Brockelmann II 419

B. 1. ADAB AL MURIDIN AL 'ARIF 82

E. SARAFIYAH Berlin 3198; Cairo VII 312;

Bengal E.1

29. Sayyid Ahmad 2. RISALAH FI SULUK KHULASAT AL SADAT

AL NAQSHBANDIYYAH AL SIDDIQIYYAH

C. SARAFIYAH Cairo VII 312; Berlin 1286

AL HUKMA Loth 1038

30. Halla Mahmud b. 3. TA'RIB RASHHAT A'YN AL HAYAT

(1062)

Cairo 11 75

4. TA'RIB NAFAHAT AL UNS MIN HADARAT

AL QUDS Sarafiyah 33

Ibid 701

C. JAMI' AL FAWA ID 128-2; Miftah 92

Muhibbi 1 464

27. 'Abd Al-Haqq Haqqi of Delhi (1052)

See sections I, II, V, VI, VIII.

B.1. RISALAH FI BAYAN 'QA WL ' QADAMI

HADHA 'ALA RAQABAH KULLI WALIYY

See sections VI, VII

Allah

Rampur 339

2. DAFATIR

31. 'Imat Allah of Saharapur Ibid 149

28. Muhibb Allah of Allhabad (1058)

See sections I, VI.

B.1. ANFAS AL KHAWASS

Rampur 329 ; Delhi 1773; Miftah
1284

2. AKHASS AL KHAWASS

Rampur 322

3. AL MAGHALIT AL 'AMMAH

Rampur 366; Delhi 1852

4. Taswiyah

Bengal I 191

5. 'AQA ID AL KHAWASS

32. Muhammad b. Muhiy al-Din al-Buhārī al-Buhārī
1090) Nadhir Ahmad 30 (after

C.1. MARATIB AL WUJUD

Dhikr alMa'arif 82

2. SHARH AL FUSUS

33. Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Buhārī al-Buhārī al-Buhārī
Ibid

29. Sayyid Ahmad Gesu-daraz of Kalpi (1058)

Tadhkirah 81

C. JAWAMI' AL KILAM FI SHARH AL ASMA

AL HUSNA

30. Mulla Mahmud b. Shaykh Muhammad al-Faruqi of Jawnpur
(1062)

1. Ma athir 258

2. Subhah 53

3. Abjad 901

4. Ara ish-i-Mahfil 92

5. Tajalli 48

6. Hada iq 413

7. Mahbub 387

8. Tadhkirah 221

9. Brockelmann II II

See sections VI, IX

B. HIRZ AL IMAN FI RADD KITAB AL
TASWIYAH

Rampur 335

31. 'Isamat Allah of Saharanpur (1089)

1. Ma athir 263

2. Subhah 52

3. Abjad 900

4. Hada iq 407

5. Beale 83

6. Tadhkirah 140

7. Mahbub 177

See sections VII, IX

A. JADD AL GHANA FI HURMAT AL GHINA

Bri. Mus.

MS Asafiyyah

32. Muhammad b. Murtada al-Mutakhallis bi Muhsin (after
1090)

B. HIDAYAT AL RASIKHIN

Asafiyyah 394

33. Muhammad b. Muhammad . Ahmad b. Muhammad n. Miyanju
b. Nasir (about 1100)

See brockelmann ii 420

B. 1. NIKAT AL IKHWAN BI 'AWN ALLAH

MALIK AL MANNAN

Berlin 3105

2. MARAJIN AL 'USHSHAQ BAYN ABHAR
AL 'ASHWAQ

Ibid 3106

3. AL JAM' BAYN AL DUNYA WA'L 'UQBA
BI 'INAYA ALLAH AL 'ULYA

Ibid 3142 3145

4. RISALAH MAN 'ARAFAT ALLAH

Ibid 3231

5. JAWAHIR AL 'ULUM

Ibid 3232

6. AL HAYRAT FI DHAT ALLAH

Ibid 3233

7. TUHFAT AL SULUK AL MUSILAH ILA
ALLAH malik al muluk

Ibid 3285

8. RISALAH FI AL AWRAD

Ibid 7382

9. AL MUFLIS FI AMAN ALLAH

Ibid 3164

34. Ja'far al-Sadiq al-Aydarus (compiled in 1107)

B. TUHFAT AL ASPIYA ,TA'RIB SAFINAT

AL AWLIYA of Dara

Rampur 332

35. Muhammad Afdal/Allahabad (1124)

Tadhkirah 181

C.1. SHARH AL FUSU

2. FATH AL IGHLAQ

~~36. Ghulam Naqshband b. 'Ata Allah (1126)~~

36. Ghulam Naqshband b. 'Ata Allah (1126)

See sections I, IX.

C. AL LAMI'AT AL 'ARSHIYYAH FI

HAS ILAH WAHDAT AL WUJUD

Subhah 79

37. 'Aziz Allah b. Muhammad Murad Ansari (in the time of
Farrukh Siyar-1131)

B. AL THAWAQIB AL SAB'AH

Delhi 339

38. Abu 'l Hasan b. 'Abd al-Hadi al-Sindi (1138)

See sections II, III.

B. AL FUTUHAT AL NABAWIYYAH

Bengal I 739

39. Shah Kalim Allah Jahanbadi (1140)

1. Ma athir 56

2. Hada iq 438

3. Tadhkirah 172

See section VII.

B .SAWA AL SABIL

Rampur 345

40. Mulla 'Ali Asghar Qannawji (1140)

See sections I, ~~IX~~ XI.

B.JAWAMI' AL KILAM SHARH FUSUS AL
HIKAM

Delhi 1787

C. 1. TABSIRAT AL MADARIJ

Tadhkirah 141

2. AL LATA IF AL'ALIYYAH FI AL
MA'ARIF AL ILAHIYYAH

Ibid

41. Shaykh K̄ub Allah of Allahabad (1144)

See sections III,V.

C. 1. AL KALAM AL MUFID FI MA

YATA'ALLAQU BI AL SHAYKH WA'L
MURID

Tadhkirah 59

2. AL KALIMAT AL MU TALIFAH FI
AL MAQASID AL MUKHTALIFAH

Ibid

3. KHULASAT AL A'MAL

Ibid

42. Nur Al-Din Ahmadabadi (1155)

See sections I,II,III,V,VI,IX.

C. TARIQ AL UMAN, SHARH FUSUS AL
HIKAM

Tadhkirah 245

43. A certain scholar (dedicated to Nawwab Anwar al-Din
Khan of Carnatic-d. 1162)

B.JAWAMI' AL KILAM , SHARH FUSUS AL
HIKAM

Loth 681

44. Muhammad Hayat al-Sindi (1163)

See section II

30. Akbar 'Ali b. Hamd C. SHARH AL HIKAM AL 'ATA IYYAH

Tash. Muhibbi iv 34

45. Shah Wali Allah Of Delhi (1176) AL RAH

51. Salim Allah b. Shaykh al- See sections I, II, III, V, X, XI.

A. AL QAWL AL JAMIL FI SAWA AL SABIL

B. K. Mus. 'AN ITHAF AL

MS. Berlin 3396; Rampur 357

B. 1. FUYUD AL HARAMAYN

Rampur 356

52. 'Abd al-'Ali Bahr 2. RISALAH FI MAS ILAH WAHDAT

AL WUJUD. Sections II, III, V, VI, VII.

B. 1. SHARH FI Ibid 343

46. 'Alim Allah of Lahore (1176)

Muradi III 260

B. AL FUTUHAT AL UNSIYYAH FI TAHQIQ

AL RUMUZ AL SUFIYYAH

53. 'Ali Muhammad (1183) Q111j 617

48. Qamar al-Din Husayn b. Sayyid Munib Allah of Awranagabad
(1193)

C. 1. Subhan 101

54. Shah 'Abd al 'Aziz b. 2. Abjad 919

3. Hada iq 452 VI, VIII, X, XI.

B. 4. Tadhkirah 170

B.1. MAZHAR AL NUR

55. Shah Muhammad Sa'ad al- Asafiyyah 388

B.1. 2. RISALAH FI TAHQIQ AL WUJUD

Rampur 340

49. Muhammad Murtada Zabidi (1206) YAH FI ITHAF AL HANIFAH

See sections I, II, III, V, IX.

56. Jassid Subat b. XXXITHA XXXATXXI 1180 d. First half

of the 13th cen. A. ITHAF AL SADAT AL MUTTAQIN BI

SHARH IHYA 'ULUM AL DIN

B. Bri. Mus. K. No. 540

MS. Munich 150

B. AL MAQASID AL 'INDIYYAH

Bengal I 93

50. Akbar 'Ali b. Hamd Allah al-Sandilj (1220)

Tadhkirah 24

C. SHARH HIZB AL BAHR

51. Salam Allah b. Shaykh al-Islam (1229)

See sections I, II.

A. KASHF AL QINA' 'AN IBAHAT AL
SAMA'

Bri. Mus.

MS. Delhi 708

52. 'Abd al-'Ali Bahr al-'Ulam of Lucknow (1235)

See sections II, III, V, VI, VII.

B. 1. SHARH FASS NUHI MIN FUSUS AL
HIKAM

Rampur 348

2. RISALAT AL SUGHRA

Ibid 342

53. 'Ali Muhammad (1236)

Tajalli 123

See section V.

C. TANDHIB AL IMAN

54. Shah 'Abd al 'Aziz b. Shah Wali Allah of Delhi (1239)

See sections I, II, V, VI, VIII, X, XI.

B. HASHIYAH 'AL AL QAWL AL JAMIL

Rampur 334

55. Shah Muhammad Sa'id al-Mujaddidi (1272)

B. 1. RISALAH FI AL TASAWWUF.

Rampur 340

2. PAWA ID AL DABITAH FI ITIBAT AL RABITAH

Ibid 356

56. Jawad Sabat b. Ibrahim Sabat (born 1188 d. first half
of the 13th century)

1. Tadhkirah 44

2. Bankipur Cat. X. No. 640

See section V.

C. 1. AL WAZA IF AL SABATIYYAH

2. SHARAB AL SUFIYYAH

57. Muhammad Nasir Ghiyathpuri

~~10. Ibrahim b. Abd. ...~~

A.1. NASIR AL 'USHSHAQ

Bri. Mus.

11. Fathi b. al-... 2. DURUD I GHIYATHIYYAH

ibid

WORKS OF UNKNOWN DATES

1. Shaykh Sulayman Qadiri Ahmadabadi

12. 'Abd. Allah b. ... B. SHAWAHID AL HASANAT

Bengal A.f.43

2. Muhammad Wahid al-Din Haydarabadi

A.AL JAWAHIR AL ZAHIRAH FI MADH AL

AM NABI WA ALIHI AL TAHIRAH

Asafiyyah

3. Ilahi Bakhsh b. Hajji 'Abd al-Wahhab Shahjanbadi

B.SIRAJ AL SALIKIN

Rampur 245

4. 'ABD al-Rahman Multani

A. WAZIFAH ANIQAH

See rampur 159

5. 'Abd al-Rasul b. Muhammad Khan

B. RAWDAT AL ANWAR FI IDYAH AL MABDA WA'L

XOK) MA'ASH WA'L MA'AD WA'L ASRAR

Buhar 134

6. Shaykh Yunus Naqshbandi

B. ZUBDAT AL RASA IL

Miftah 1323

7. Sayyid 'Abd al-Rahman b. Sayyid Muhammad Khwajah

Qannawji Rasuldar

B. MAJMU'AT AL MAKATIB 'ALA

MASA IL AL TASAWWUF

Loth 686

8. Amir Allah b. Mumir Allah Bihari

B. TAHLIL MU'DALAT IBN AL 'ARABI

Delhi 1780

B. KITAB HUKM AL SHAWARID

Constantinople: 'Ashir 492

10. Ibrahim b. Abi Zayd Al-Sindi

B. IRSHAD AL MULUK LI SADAD AL SULUK

Aya Sufiyah 2842

11. Fadil b. al-'Arif al-Dihlawi Safidani

B. AL JAWAHIR AL MUDIAH FI HILYAT

KHAYR AL BARIYYAH

L^oth 366

12. 'Abd Allah Multani

B. RISALAH FI AL TASAWWUF

Delhi 1881

SECTION V

DOGMA, SCHOLASTIC THEOLOGY

C. ANDHIZAH 'ALA SHARH AL MAWAQIF

3. MISCELLANEOUS RELIGIOUS TOPICS (990)

See sections III, VIII.

1. Safi al-Din al-Hindi (715)

See section III.

C. AL ZUBDAH FI 'ILM AL KALAM

Abjad 806

2. Abu Hafs Siraj al-Din 'Umar b. Ishaq al-Hindi (773)

See sections II, III, IV, IX.

B. SHARH AL 'AQID AL TAHAWIYYAH

Cairo II 2 ; Constantinople Mihr

Shah 294 3. Tabaqat XII

3. 'Ali b. Ahmad al-Mahimi (835)

See sections I, III, V.

B. AL DAW AL AZHAR FI SHARH AL NAWR

AL AZHAR FI KASHE AL QADA WA'L

QADAR AL ISLAM ABI MANIFAH

Delhi 944

C. 1. ISTIJLA AL BASAR FI AL RADD 'ALA

ISTIQA AL NAZAR

Abd al-Haqq's Taqriz on

Fiqh-i-Makhdumi p.10

2. IN'AM AL MALIK AL 'ALLAM BI AHKAM

HUKM AL IHKAM

10. Ibid

4. Shihab al-Din Dawlatabadi (849)

See sections III, IX, X

B. AL 'AQIDAT AL ISLAMIYYAH

Rampur 314

5. Khatib Abu al-Fadl Gazruni (959)

See sections I, X.

B. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL MAWAQIF

Peshawar 856

SECTION V

DOGMA, SEHSECRETANE THEOLOGY AND

2* KUBATP VPR ST-300T OUBELINT (300)

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3* , VII 2* WINDING ST-NEW TWT (822)

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СЪЗЛО II I соединительные нити

3* SEVEN VT , 1654 VT 1654 VT 1654 VT

SEE SECTIONS II*III*IA*IV*

5* VAN HALE STIL? ST-DEN . DUAZ D* IJUNG ST-HUUT (442)

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G*VT SARDVH BI , ITH VT KVTVA

SEE SECTION XIX.

T* GOLF ST-DIN ST-HUBST (AIG)

MISCELLANEOUS RELIGIOUS TOPICS

NOTES

DOORTH* SCHOTVALIC HENOTCOL

SECTION A

6. Mulla Piruz Kashmiri (973)

Tadhkirah 166

C. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL MAWAQIF

7. Makhdum al-Mulk 'Abd Allah Sultanpuri (990)

See sections III, VIII.

B. 'ISMAT AL ANBIYA

Bankipur X 569

C. KASHF AL GHUMMAH

Hada 1q 397

8. Shaykh 'Abd al-Nabi Sadr al-Sudur (991)

1. Al-Nur al-Safir (under

the year 991)

2. Bada uni III 79

3. Tabaqat 212

4. Ma athir al umara II 560

5. Tadhkirah 134

6. Beale 7

C. RISALAH FI RADD TA'N IMAM QAFFAL

'ALA IMAM ABI HANIFAH

is mentioned in the Tadhkirah section

9. Qadi Nizam Badakhshi (992)

Tadhkirah 242

~~Excerpt from Tadhkirah~~

C. 1. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL 'AQA ID

2. RISALAH FI IMAN TASDIQI WA

TAHQIQI

10. Amir Fath Allah Shireazi (997)

1. Bada uni III 154

2. Tabaqat 222 a

3. Ma athir 304

C. 1. TAKMILAH AL HASHIYAT AL

JALALIYYAT AL QADIMAH

Ibid Ma athir

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA HASHIYAT

AL DAWWANI

Ibid

11. Wajih al-Din of Gujarat (998)

See sections I, II, III, IX.

C.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL TAJRID

Tadhkirah 250

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL 'AQA ID

LI'L TAFTAZANI

Ibid

al

3. HASHIYAH 'ALA/HASHIYAT AL QADIMAH

Ibid

12. Ilah-dad Sultanpuri (1006)

1. Bada uni III 117

2. Tabaqat 215 b

3. Tadhkirah 26

C. 1. KASHF AL GHUMMAH

Tadhkirah 26

2. MINHAJ AL DIN

N.B. According to the Hada iq (p.397), these
are
two books/by 'Abd Allah Sultanpuri. See
the above number 7 . Abd Allah's MINHAJ
is mentioned in the ~~tenth~~ 8th section)

12.

13. Qadi Nur Allah Shustari (1019)

See sections I, II, III, VI, IX.

B.1. IHQAQ AL HAQQ wa ibtal al batil

Buhar 115; Bankipur 625;

Bengal A.e. 1; Rampur 281

2. Mas ib al nawasib

Buhar 114; Asafiyyah 1326

3. AL SAWARIM AL MUHRIQAH

Buhar 112

C. 1. Uns al TAWHID
Kashf al-hujub

2. HASHIYAT AL ANNUDHAJ

3. HASHIYAT AL HASHIYAT AL QADIMAH

4. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL TAJRID

5. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL MAWAQIF

6. RISALAH FI ANNA 'L WUJUD LA MITHLA LAHU
7. Risalah fi HAQIQAT AL ~~IKKIM~~'ISMAH
8. RISALH FI RADDI RISALAT AL DAWWANI FI IMAN FIR'AWN
9. RAF' AL QADAR
10. AL LATA IF
11. MAWA ID AL ~~IKKIM~~ IN'AM
12. AL NAZAR AL SALIM
13. AL NUR AL ANWAR WA'L NAWR AL AZHAR
14. 'Imad al-Din Muhammad 'Arif al-'Uthmani, called 'Abd al-Nabi al-Shattari (after 1020)

See sections I, II, IV, VI, IX, X.

- C. 1. SAWAT' AL ILHAM, SHARH TAHHIB AL KALAM

Tadhkirah 135

2. RISALAH FI IMAN FIR'AWN

Ibid

3. NASIKH AL TANASUKH.

Ibid

15. Shyakh Ahmad Mujaddid Alf Thani (1034)

See section IV

~~RISALAH FI ITHBAT AL NABUWWAH~~

~~IKKIM~~

10. ~~IKKIM~~

~~IKKIM~~

~~IKKIM~~

- B. 1. RISALAH FI ITHBAT AL NABUWWAH

Delhi 113/c

- C. 2. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH 'AQA ID JALALIYYAH

Tadhkirah 12

16. 'Abd al-Qadir al-'aydarus (1038)

See sections I, IV, VIII, X.

- B. 1. AL I'TIQADIYYAH

Buhar 454

2. KITAB AL MINHAJ ILA MA'RIFAT AL
MI'RAJ

Berlin 2609

3. SAFWAT AL SAFWAH FI BAYAN AHKAM AL
QAHWAH

Ibid 5479

4. AL DURR AL THAMIN FI BAYAN AL

MUHIMMAH MIN 'ULUM AL DIN

Bihar ~~Ibid~~ 453 1

5. 'IQD AL LA L BI FADA IL AL

Ibid 453 11

17. 'Abd al-Karim Lahori (1045)

See section IV.

B. 1. 'AQA ID AL MUWAHHIDIN

Berlin 1848

TAHQIQ

2. RISALAH FI/KALIMAT AL TAWHID

Asafiyyah

18. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq Haqqi 1052)

See sections I, II, IV, VI, VIII.

B.1. FATH AL MANNAN FI MADHHAN AL

NU'MAN

Asafiyyah

2. AL-FAWA ID

Miftah 2783

19. 'Abd al-Hakim al-Siyalkuti (1067)

See sections I, III, VI, IX.

A.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA HASHIYAT AL

KHAYALI 'ALA SHARH AL TAFTAZANI

'ALA AL 'AQA ID AL HASAFIYYAH

Bri. Mus.

MSS. Loth 397-8; Gotha 675; Bihar

107; Bankipur 509; Bengal I

298; Bengal A.E. 21; Cairo:

Peshawar 811; Constantinople

(in several libraries)

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL 'QAID AL JALALIYYAH

Bri. Mus.

MSS. Bengal A.E. 20; Salimiyyah 345;

Lalah li 2202; Jami' Sharifi 405;

Sulaymaniyyah 750; Asad Efendi

Madrasah p. 26 ; Qiliç 519;

Asafiyyah 1298; Bengal I 308;

Bankipur 554.

3. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL MAWAQIF

See Mu'jam 680

MSS. Loth 449; Nur 'Thmani 2131;

Bankipur 538; Lalah li 2224; Wali

al-Din 2014;

B.1. AL RISALAT AL KHAQANIYYAH ,also called

AL DURR AL THAMIN FI ITHBAT WAJIB TA'ALA

Berlin 2344; Bengal II 42; Delhi

1877;

2. ZUBDAT AL AFKAR

See Brockelmann II 417

20. Mulla 'Abd al-Baqi of Jawnpur (1084)

1. Farhat al nazirin (Oriental Magazine of Lahore xiv 85)

2. Tajalli 65

3. Mahbub 18

See section IV for other works of his

B. SHARH KALIMAT AL TAWHID

Hiftah 2591/2

21. Mulla Muhammad Muhsin (1081)

B. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL 'AQA ID

Peshawar 794

22. Abu Si Fath Kallu (1100)

1. Hada iq 425

2. Tadhkirah 6

C. SAYF AL SABBIN

23. Mir Muhammad Zahid b. Qadi Muhammad Aslam Harwi Kabuli

Hindi (1101)

1. Farhat al nazirin (Oriental Magazine of Lahore XIV 80)
2. Ma athir 264 sections I, II, III, IV, V, VI
3. Subhah 67 AL MU MININ
4. Abjad 902 868
5. Hada iq 428 of Bihar (1120)
6. Tadhkirah 187 sections I, II, VI.

For other works of his, see sections VI.

- A. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL UMUR AL 'AMMAH MIN
SHARH AL MAWAQIF 317

MS. 'Abd al-Wadud al-Qunawi Bri. Mus. No. 1 in Kh. (1120)

- MS9. Buhar 98; Loth 451-2; Bankipur 539;
Asafiyyah 1302; Bengal I 322; Bengal
A.E. 26 5. Brockelmann II 417

24. Qutb al-Din Sahalawi (1103) SHARH AL MADHANIAH

1. Ma athir 267 in 1863 Buhar 1001
2. Subhah 79 254
3. Abjad 904 AL MADHANIAH FI AL
4. Hada iq 429
5. Tadhkirah 168 139

C. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL DAWWANI 'ALA

AL 'AQA ID the title of the work is
Tadhkirah etc

25. Sadr al-Din 'Ali b. Ahmad b. Ma'sum al-Husayni, known
as Sayyid 'Ali Khan al-Madani or Ibn Ma'sum (1117)

1. Amal al-amil 51 I, VI
2. Rawdat al jannat 421 AL MAWAQIF
3. Subhah 85 Tadhkirah 27
4. Nujum 176 AL MAWAQIF
5. Wuestenfeld No. 589
6. Rieu, Arabic. No. 990
7. Brockelmann II 421 AL
8. Buhar No. 72

See sections VIII, IX

- A. RIYAD AL SALIKIN FI SHARH SAHIFAH-1-
SAYYID AL 'ABIDIN ID

Litho graphed in Persia
ms Buhar 72

26. Mulla Muhammad Muhsin Kashmiri (1119)

See sections III, IX

B. NAJAT AL MU MININ

Delhi 866

27. Muhibb Allah b. 'Abd al-Shakur of Bihar (1119)

See sections III, VI.

31. Nur al-Din of Ahmadnagar B. AL FITRAT AL ILAHIYYAH SHARH

AL HIKMAT AL JAMI'AH I, II, III, IV.

Rampur 317

28. 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Qannawji, styled Mun'im Khan (1126)

1. Hada iq 458

2. Tadhkirah 139

3. Brockelmann II 417

B. BAHR AL MADHANIB

Berlin 1851; Buhar 105;

Rampur 284

32. Nizam al-Din al Zahid C. KITAB AL SADRAH FI AL

'AQA ID sections III, VI.

Tadhkirah 139

N.B. According to the Hada iq

the title of the work is

KITAB AL SALAT (see Hada iq 458)

29. Hafiz Amen Allah of Banaras (1133)

See sections I, VI

C. 1. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL MAWAQIF

33. Muhammad Panah entitled Busta in Khawassat al-Mawafiq

Tadhkirah 27

Muhammad Shah-2, 1161

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL HASHIYAT AL

QADILAH

Ibid

3. HASHIYAT AL 'AQA ID AL

34. Qadi Mubarak b. Muhammad b. al-Farugi of Ceylon

'ADUDIYYAH

(1152)

Ibid

4. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL DAWWANI

'ALA AL 'AQA ID

Ibid

30. Shah Khub Allah of Allahabad (1144)

See sections III, IV.

C. MA KHADH AL ~~IXTXXE~~ I'TIQAD FI

AL SAHABAH WA AHL AL BAYT AL

AMJAD

Tadhkirah 59

31. Nur al-Din of Ahmadabad (1155)

See sections I, II, III, IV,

IX.

C. 1. AL HASHIYAT AL QAWIMAH 'ALA

AL HASHIYAT AL QADIMAH

Tadhkirah 248

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL ~~MAQASI~~

MAWAQIF

Ibid

3. HALL AL MA'AQID LI SHARH AL

MAQASID

Ibid

32. Nizam al-Din al Sahalawi [1161]

See sections III, VI.

B.1. SHARH AL RISALAT AL MUBARIZ-

IYYAH FI AL 'AQA ID AL ISLAH

MIYYAH

Rampur 308

2. ~~RISALAH~~ HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH

AL DAWWANI 'ALA AL 'AQA ID

Bankipur 556; Delhi 112 /2

33. Muhammad Panah entitled Musta'id Khan (in the time of Muhammad Shah-d.1161)

Tajalli 94

B. RISALAH FI TAHQIQ AL MABDA

Miftah 2633/7

34. Qadi Mubarak b. Muhammad Da'im al-Faruqi of Gopama u (1162)

Tadhkirah 175

See section VI.

B. HASHIYAH 'ALA HASHIYAH MIR ZAHID

Ala al-rum al-ammal
Bankipur 556; Delhi 112 /2

35. Muhammad Hayat al-Sindi (1163)

See sections II, IV.

B. X. AL 'AWN FI KASHF HAL FIR'AWN (FI RADD
AL RISALAT AL HIKMIYYAT AL 'ALAWIYYAH
FI AL KALINAT AL MUSAWIYYAH LI IBN
AL 'ARABI

Rampur 316

C. 1. RISALAH FI BID'AH AL TA'ZIYAH

Ithaf 404

2. TUHRAT AL ANAM FI AL 'AMAL BI

HADITH KHAYR AL ANAM Ibid

3. RISALAH FI AL NAHY 'AN 'ISHQ SUWAR

AL MUR WA 'L NISWAN Ibid

36. Muhammad Fakhr of Allahabad (1164)

1. Ithaf 404

2. Tadhkirah 206

B. DURRAT AL TAHQIQ FI NUSRAT AL

SIDDIQ

Asafiyyah 1304

37. Sayyid Muhammad Yusuf Bilgrami b. Muhammad Ashraf (1172)

1. Ma athir 382

2. Subhah 99

3. Abjad 918

4. Hada iq 446

5. Tadhkirah 220

C. AL FAR' AL NABIT MIN AL ASL AL

THABIT

Tadhkirah 220

38. Kamal al-Din Sahalawi (1175)

Tadhkirah 172

See section VI.

A. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL DAWWANI

'ALA AL 'AQA ID

Bri. Mus.

B. 'URWAT AL WUTHQA

Bengal I 657

39. Muhammad Hashim b. 'Abd al-Ghafur al-Sindi (1176)

See sections II, III.

B. 1. HADIQAT AL SAFA FI ASMA AL
MUSTAFA

Bengal I 330

42. Muhammad Amir b. 2. TATEIK HASHIYAT AL KHAYALI

(compiled in 1192)

Asafiyyah 1294

40. Shah Wali Allah of Delhi (1176)

See sections I, II, III, IV, X, XI.

A. 1. HUJAT ALLAH AL BALIGHAH

45. Mir Muhammad Kashmiri (1195)

Bri. Mus.

MS. Bankipur 580; Cairo Rampur

334; See Brockelmann II 418

2. AL 'AQIDAT AL HASANAH

Bri. Mus.

44. Mir Muhammad Amir b. 'Abd al-Ghafur (1198)

MS. Delhi 112

B.1. AL MUQADDIMAT AL SANIYYAH FI

INTISAR AL FIRQAT AL SUNNIYYAH

43. Muhammad Hanif b. Ghulam Mustafa (1193)

Delhi 939; Rampur 322

2. SHARH AL RISALAH FI MASA IL 'ILM

WAJIB TA'ALA

Rampur 308

41. Muhammad Siddiq of Lahore b. Muhammad Hanif (1192)

1. Hada iq 451

2. Tadhkirah 194

See section VIII.

6.1. MADAR AL ISLAM FI 'ILM AL KALAM

47. 'Abd al-Ghafur b. 'Abd al-Ghafur (1200 century)

Hada iq

2. SHURUT AL IMAN Ibid

3. AL QAWL AL HAQQ FI TARK AL SHI'R WA

48. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Ghafur (1200 century)

'L HALQ Ibid

4. HADIM AL TAGHUT FI QISSAH HARUT

Ibid

5. NUR HADAQAT AL THAQALAYN FI TAMTHAL

49. Sharaf al Allah (1200 century)

AL NA'LAYN

6. SHARH AL NAFAHAT AL BAHIRAH FI JAWAZ

AL QAWL BI 'L ZAHIRAH Ibid

7. TABYID AL RAQQ FI TABYIN AL HAQQ FI

RADD MA TASAHALA FIH SHAYKH 'ABD AL

HAQQ (1201) Ibid

42. Muhammad Anwar b. Nur al-Din Muhammad Akbarabadi
(compiled in 1192)

B. ANWAR AL HIDAYAH FI 'L FADAK WA 'L
QIRTAS

Delhi 786

43. Nur Muhammad Kashmiri (1195)

See sections III, IX.

41. Qadi Thana Allah C. HASHIYAH 'ALA HASHIYAT AL KHAYALI

See Tadhkirah 248

44. ~~Abu 'l~~ Abu 'l Khayr (1198)

Tajalli 104

C. SHARH AL 'AQA ID AL NASAFIYYAH

45. Muhammad Hasan b. Ghulam Mustafa (1198)

See sections III, VI

B. HASHIYAH 'AL AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAH

'ALA AL UMUR AL 'AMMAH

Rampur 291

46. Fakhr al-Din b. Nizam al-Haqq (1199)

A. AL QAWL AL MUSTAHSAN FI FAKHR (or FAQR)

AL HASAN AL BASRI

See Peshawar 792

47. 'Abd al-Rahim b. 'Abd al-Rasul (12th century)

B. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL DAWWANI

46. Sayyid Bilal 'Ali (1230) Bankipur 558

48. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-'Aziz (12th century)

B. FAKHR AL HAWASHI (HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH

AL DAWWANI / 'ALA AL 'AQA ID

Bankipur 555

49. Barakat Allah (12th century)

See sections III, VI, VII.

B.HASHIYAH 'ALA AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAH 'ALA
AL UMUR AL 'AMMAH

Bankipur 545

~~54. Sayyid Dildar 'Ali of Panipat (1225)~~

50. Muhammad Murtada Zabidi (1205)

See sections I, II, III, IV,
IX.

C. 1. ITHAF BANI AL ZAMAN BI HUKM

QAHWAT AL YAMAN

Tadhkirah 225

2. HIKMAT AL ISHRAQ ILA KITAB

AL APAQ.

Ibid

51. Qadi Thana Allah of Panipat (1225)

See section I

C. HAQUQ AL ISLAM, also known as

HAQIQAT AL ISLAM.

Tadhkirah 38, 204

52. Muhammad Mubin (1225)

See sections III, VI.

B. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHID

IYYAH 'ALA AL UMR AL 'AMMAH

Bankipur Rampur 291

53. Zahur Allah of Lucknow

Tadhkirah 99

See section VI.

B. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHID

IYYAH 'ALA AL UMUR AL 'AMMAH

Bankipur 547; Delhi 830

54. Sayyid Dildar 'Ali (1235)

See section III

B. 1. IMAD AL ISLAM FI AL KALAM

Bankipur 633; Rampur

2. ITHARAT AL AHZAN

Delhi 1776

3. ~~SHIHAB THAQIB~~ SHIHAB THAQIB

Delhi 909

C.1. SAWARIM AL ILAHIYYAT

Tadhkirah 61

2. HUSAM AL ISLAM

Kashf Ibid

3. IHYA AL SUNNAH

Ibid

4. RISALAH FI GHAYBAT SAHIB AL

ZAMAN

Kashf

55. 'Abd al-'Ali Bahr al-'Ulum (1235)

See sections II, III, IV, VI, VII.

B.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL HASHIYAT AL

ZAHIDIYYAH

Bankipur 548; Delhi 831

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL DAWWANI

'ALA AL 'AQA ID

Miftah 1194

3. SHARH MAQAMAT AL MABADI

Asafiyyah 1314

4. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH MAWAQIF

Bengal A.E. 17

56. Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Muhammad Faydabadi (compiled in 1235)

C. 1. AL ASINNAT AL MUHAMMADIYYAH LI

'L ZAKKIK ZANADIQA WA 'L

NASRANIYYAH WA 'L YAHUDIYYAH FI

PADA IL 'ISMAT AL MA'SUM

Kashf

2. RIYAD AL MAWA'IZ WA KIFAYAT AL

MUTADHAKKIR WA 'L WA'IZ.

Ibid

57. 'Ali Muhammad (1236)

Tajalli 125

C. MINHAJ AL ISLAM

58. SHAH 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Shah Wali Allah (1236)

See sections I, II, IV, VI, VIII, IX,
X, XI.

A.1. MIZAN AL 'AQA ID

Bri.Mus.

2. SHARH MIZAN AL 'AQA ID

Bri.Mus.

3. FI MA YAJIB HIFZUHU LI 'L NAZIR

Ibid

B.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL HASHIYAT AL

ZAHIDIYYAH 'AL A AL UMUR AL 'AMMAH

Delhi 829;1514

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL MUQADDIMAT AL

SANIYYAH FI INTISAR AL FIRQAT AL

SUNNIYYAH

Ibid 939

59. Shah Muhammad Isma'il b. 'Abd al-Ghani (1246)

See sections II,III,X.

A. IRSHAD AL 'IBAD ILA SABIL AL

RASHAD

Bri.Mus.

60. Rashid al-Din of Delhi (1249)

1. Abjad 12 917

2. Tadhkirah 63

3. Mahbub 29

See section X.

B. IDAH LATAFAT AL MAQAL FI TAFSIL

AL JAWAB BI 'L IPSAH 'AN

SHARAFT AL AL WA TAFDIL AL

ASHAB

Mahbub p.29

61. Abu Ahmad Awlad Hasan of Qannawj (1253)

1. Ithaf 9

2. Tadhkirah 24

C.1. NUR AL WAFI MIN MIRAT AL SAFA

Ibid

2. RISALAH AL IKHTISAS FI 'L

HUDUD WA 'L QISAS

3. TAQWIYAT AL YAQIN FI RADD 'AQA ID
AL MUSHRIKIN
62. Sayyid Muhammad b. Sayyid Dildar 'Ali al-Shi'i (about
the middle of the 13th century)
1. Nujum 346
2. Kashf al hujub (Preface)
- B. 1. RISALAH FI LAFZ HAWL
- C.1. ASHLAT AL Buhar 451 11
2. AL SAYF AL MASIH
- Delhi 560
- C. JAWAB AL TUIFAH LI 'ABD AL 'AZIZ
- AL DIHLAWI (1279)
3. TASHWILAT AL KASHF
- 63 Sayyid 'Ali b. S. Dildar 'Ali (1250)
- NUJUM 403
- B. ZAD QALIL
- Asafiyyah
- C.1. RISALAH FI 'L PADAK
- Nujum 403
2. RISALAH FI 'L MUT 'AH
- Ibid
3. RISALAH FI JAWAZ AL TA'ZIYAH
64. Wali Allah of Lucknow (1270)
- See sections III, VI, VIII.
- C.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL HASHIYAT AL
KAMALIYYAH 'ALA AL 'AQA ID
AL JALALIYYAH
- Tadhkirah 252
2. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL HASHIYAT AL
ZAHIDIYYAH 'ALA AL UMUR AL
'AMMAH
- Ibid
65. Mulla Nur al-Din b. Ishaq Rampuri (1270)
- B. AL BAY'AH BI YADI KHALIFAT
AL RAHMAN 'ALA MADH HAB AL
NU'MAN
- Rampur 235

66. Sayyid Husayn b. Dildar 'Ali al-Shi'i (1271)

74. Sayyid Muhammad Quli b. ... See sections I, VI.

B.1. MANAHIJ AL TADQIQ WA MA'ARIJ AL
TAHQIQ.

Bengal I 991

2. AL MAJALIS AL MUFJI'AH

Buher 211

C.1. ASALAT AL TAHARAT

75. Sayyid Najaf 'Ali of Paydab Kashf

2. AL PAWA ID AL HASANAH

Ibid

67. Abu Sa'id Zahur al Haqq of Patanah (1279)

B. TASWILAT AL FALASIFAH

76. Mirza 'Abd al-Kabb b. Khali Bankipur 583; Nadhir Ahmad

105

68. Jawad Sabat b. Ibrahim

See section IV.

B. AL BARAHIN AL SABATIYYAH

1. Ibrahim 'Ali Khan b. 'Ali Bankipur 460

69. Hafiz Ghulam Muhammad b. Shaykh Muhyi al Din of
Madras (13th century)

B. AL SAWLAT AL HAYDARIYYAH ,TA'RIB

2. Muhammad Asim TUNFAH-1-ITHNA 'ASHARIYYAH

Bankipur 584

70. Hajji Rahmat Allah b. Khilil al-Rahman al-Dihlawi
Muhajir Makki

A. IZHAR AL HAQQ FI RADD AL NASARA

See Brockelmann II 304

71 Khayr al-Din of Allahabad

C. JAWAB AL TUNFAH

Kashf

72. La iq 'Ali Khan of Banaras

C. JAWAB AL TUNFAH

Ibid

73. Mirza Muhammad b. 'Inayat Ahmad Khan

C. JAWAB AL KAYD AL THAMIN MIN TH FAH

74. Sayyid Muhammad Quli b. Muhammad Husayn

C.1.JAWAB AL TUFHAF

Ibid

2. HASARI' AL AFHAM LI QAL'

AL AFHAM Ibid

3. AL FUTHAT AL HAYDARIYYAH

Ibid

75. Sayyid Najaf 'Ali of Payabad

C. AL 'AQA ID AL NAJAFIYYAH FI

AL USUL AL DINIYYAH WA 'L

MA'ARIF AL YAQINIYYAH

Ibid

76. Mufti 'Abd al-Rabb b. Khalil al-Rahman of Rampur

B.AL BAYAN AL KAMIL FI TANBIH

AL JAHIL

Rampur 284.

WORKS OF UNKNOWN DATES

1. Ibrahim 'Ali Khan b. 'Ali Murad Khan Kashmiri

C.AL BIYAD AL IBRAHIMI LI 'ULAMA

AL DIN

Kashf

2. Muhammad Azim

B. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHID

IYYAH

Delhi 936

~~2. Muhammad Azim of Peshawar~~

3. Mulla Ahmad Allah of Peshawar

B.TUHFAT AL IKHWAN FI TAFRIQAH BAYN

AL KUFR WA wa 'l IMAN

Rampur 285

4. Ni'mat Allah

B.RISALAH FI KHALQ AL A'MAL

Miftah 2609/7

5. Ibn Siraj

B. TADHKIRAT AL MADHANIB

Delhi 285

6. Shaykh Muhammad b. Yahya b. 'Abd al-Karim

B. RISALAH FI IMAN AL FIR'AWN

1. Sayyid Muhammad Rampur 301

7. Badr al-Din of Haydarabad of the 8th century)

B. RISALAH FI RADD AL WAHHABIYYAT

Rampur 302

8. Fath Muhammad

in the early part of the 9th century)

B. RISALAH FI TAKHLIQ AL WUJUD

Bengal II 32

9. Muhammad Ahsan of Peshawar

B. AL ABHATH AL TIS'AH AL

MUTA'ILLAQAH BI KALIMAT AL

3. 'Abd Allah b. Ahmad al-Tawhid (1843)

TAWHID

Peshawar 739

10. Malik Ahmadabadi b. Malik pir Muhammad al-Faruqi

B. 'IQD AL LA ALI AL GHASHIYAH FI

HASHIYAT AL SHARH WA SHARH AL

HASHIYAH

Bengal A.E. 45

11. Mulla Akbar

B. HASHIYAH 'ALA AB HASHIYAT AL ZAHID

IYYAH 'ALA AL UMUR AL 'AMMAH

Delhi 835

12. Yusuf of Ahmadabad

B. 'AQA ID

Stewart p.143

13. Ibrahim b. Isma'il of Junagarh

B. WASILAT AL NAJAT FI AHKAM AL

KAKAT

Nadhir Ahmad 55

14. 'Ata Allah Siddiqi Samarqandi Shahjahanbadi

B. RISALT AL 'UTHUR ILA DAR AL SURUR

Delhi 714

SECTION VIPHILOSOPHY

1. Sayyid Muhammad Hamadani b. Amir Kabir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani (the latter part of the 8th century)

Tadhkirah 219

C. SHARH AL SHAMSIYYAH

2. 'ALA AL-Din Manglori (in the early part of the 9th century)

See Loth 577

B. AL JUZ AL AWWAL MIN AL ZUBDAH, SHARH AL

6. Muhammad b. al SHAMSIYYAH

Loth 577

3. 'Abd ALLAH b. Ilahtad al-'Uthmani (922)

1. Tabaqat 152 a

2. Ma athir 245

3. Subhan 42

4. Abjad 894

5. Hada iq 362

6. Tadhkirah 101

7. 'Abd Allah Shust A. BADI' AL MIZAN SHARH MIZAN AL MANTIQ

Bri. Mus

MSS. Loth 574; Delhi 1359: miftak 1926;

Bri. Mus. p. 455; Rampur 433

B. MINHIYYAT BADI' AL MIZAN

Rampur 463

4. Mulla Firuz Kashmiri (973)

See section V.

C. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL SHAMSIYYAH

Tadhkirah 166

5. Muslih al-Din al-Lari al-Ansari (979)

1. Rieu p. 116

2. Brockelmann II 420

8. 'Isa al-Din B. 1. RISALAH FI BAHTH TAMAM AL MUSHTARAK

Goth 87 11, 8311

2. RISALAH FI BAHTH AL QUDRAH WA 'L

IRADAH

Goth 87 111,88 111.

3. Risalah fi bahth al-HARAKAH

Berlin 3100

4. RISALAH FI TAHQIQ AL MA'AD WA 'L MABDA

Leid 1601

C.1. SHARH TAHDHIB AL MANTIQ

See Rieu p.116

2. SHARH HIDAYAT AL HIKMAH

Ibid

6. Muhammad b. al-Hasan al-'ilmi (composed in the time
of Miran Husayn Shah - 996-997

See Loth 490; Mahbub 493

B.CHAYAT AL NIHAYAH HASHIYAT AL MAYBUDHI

Loth 490; Mahbub p.493

N.B.Loeth says that this work was dedicated to
Husayn Nizam Shah(961-972);but according to
Mahbub it was composed during the time of
Miran Shah Husayn (996-7)

7. Nur Allah Shustari (1019)

See sections I,II,III,V,IX.

B.1. SHARH TAHDHIB AL MANTIQ

Buhar 299; Rampur 453;Delhi 1464;

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL DAWWANI

'ALA TAHDHIB AL MANTIQ

Rampur 457

3. Hashiyat al maybudhi

Rampur 385

C.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL SHAMSIYYAT AL QUTBIYYAH

Kashf

2. HASH. SHARH HIDAYAT AL HIKMAH

Ibid

8. 'Imad al-Din Buhammad 'Arif al-'Uthmani, called 'Abd al-
Nabi (after 1020)

See sections I,II,IV,V,IX,X.

C./Z. RUH AL ARWAH SHARH HIKMAH

ISHRAQIYYAH

Tadhkirah 135

9. 'Abd al-Haqq Haqqi of Delhi (1052)

See sections I, II, IV, V, VIII.

A. AL DUA'R AL BAHIIYYAH

Bri. Mus.

10. Muhibb Allah of Allahabad (1053)

See sections I, IV.

B. KITAB AL MUBIN

Rampur 402

11. Mir Hashim Jilani (1061)

1. Farhat al nazirin (Oriental

Magazine XIV 75)

2. Mahbub 190

See sections VII, IX.

B.1. HASHIYAT AL MAYBUDHI

Rampur 385

2. KHULASAT AL AFKAR HASHIYAH 'ALA

SHARH NATALI'

Asafiyyah 1568

12. Mulla Mahmud Jawnpuri (1062)

See section IV.

A.1. AL HIKMAT AL BALIGHAH

Bri. Mus.

2. AL SHAMS AL BAZIGHAH SHARH AL

HIKMAT AL BALIGHAH

Bri. Mus.

14. 'Abd al-Rashid Jawnpuri MSS (of both) Loth 561 I; Calcutta
57; Miftah 1907; Rampur 398.

B.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA MIR QUTBI

Asafiyyah 1570

2. AL DAWHAT AL MAYYADAH FI HADIQAT

AL SURAH WA 'L MADDAH

Rampur 388; Asafiyyah

Delhi 1618.

3. RISALAH FI ITIBAT AL HAYULA

15. 'Abd al-Baqi b. Shawth al-Bihar al-Bihar al-Jawnpuri
Loth 561 ii

4. RISALAH FI MAN' IRTIFA' AL NAQIDAYN

Rampur 449

13. 'Abd al-Hakim al-Siyalkuti(1067)

See sections I, III, V, IX.

A. HASHIYAH 'ALA MIR QUTBI(1.e.HASHIYAH

SAYYID SHARIF JURJANI 'ALA SHARH

QUTB AL DIN 'ALA AL SHA MSIYYAH

See Loth 518

MS3. Loth 518; Buhar 296; Miftah ~~292~~

1955; Delhi 1408; Rampur 437

B.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL QUTBI.

MS3. Berlin 5264; Asad Efendi Aya

Sufiyah 1947; Sarwili ~~204~~; 204;

Fayd Allah 95; 97; Raghīb 886;

Lalah 11 2572; Dih bash 550;

Yahya 216; Damad Qadi 1496; 'Atif

1626; Qiliij 649; Mahmud Pasha II

59; 60; Sulaymaniyyah 800; Jami'

Sherifi 489; 492; Asad Efendi

Madrasah 17

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA HASHIYAH AL JURJANI

'ALA SHARH QUTB AL DIN 'ALA AL

NATALI' AL ANWAR

Loth 596; Miftah 1933.

3. HASHIYAT AL MAWBUDHI

Rampur 385; Delhi 1615

14. 'Abd al-Rashid jawnpurā(1083)

See section III.

A. AL ADAB AL RASHIDIYYAH (FI 'ILM AL
MUNAZRAH)

Bri.MUs.

MS3. Buhar 461 ii; Rampur 675:

Miftah 2010; Bri.Mus.P. 456;

JRAS.for1892 p.508 No 46

15. 'Abd al-Baqi b. Ghawth al-Islam al-Siddiqi Jawnpuri
Lo84)

See section V.

B.1. AL ADAB AL BAQIYYAH FI SHARH AL
ADAB AL SHARIFIYYAH

Loth 554; Delhi 77; Berlin 5321;
Miftah 2006; Buhar 364; Bengal J.3;
Rampur 674;

2. AL ABHATH AL BAQIYYAH SHARH AL
RASHIDIYYAH

Buhar 368; Miftah 2009

3. BATH FI ANNA AL 'ILM WA 'L MA'LUM
MUTTAHIDAN

Asefiyyah

16. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Hindi (about 1100)

B.HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH TAHDHIB LI 'L
YAZDI

Berlin 5181

17. Mulla Muhammad Sadiq (11th century)

See Buhar 300

B.HASHIYAH 'ALA BADI' AL MIZAN

Buhar 300; Delhi 1564.

18. Mir Muhammad Zahid b. Muhammad Aslam (1101)

See section V.

A.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA RISALAT AL TASAWWUR
WA 'L TASDIQ LI QUTB AL DIN

Bri.Mus.

MSS. Loth 533; Rampur 464

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AE DAWANI

'ALA TAHDHIB AL MANTIQ

Bri.Mus.

MSS. Calcutta LX; Rampur 465;

Miftah 1961

B.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH HAYAKIL AL NUR

Miftah 1877; Rampur 386

2 HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL SHAMSIYYAH

Miftah 1976

19. Imam al-Din b. Lutf Allah Muhandis (in the early part of the 12th century)

Rasachakur Tadhkirah 262

See section VII.

B.AL TASWIB SHARH AL TAHDHIB

delhi 1473

20. Mulla Muhammad Amin Kashmiri (1109)

Tadhkirah 182

C.HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL TAHDHIB

21. Muhibb Allah b. 'Abd al-Shakur of Behar (1119)

See sections III,V.

A.SULLAM AL 'ULUM

Bri.Mus.

MSS. Loth 563; Miftah 982; Rampur

451; see Brockelmann II 421

B.1. AL JAWHAR AL FARD

Loth 581 ix;Buhar 463 vii.

2. AL MUGHALATAT AL 'AMMAT AL WURUD

Asafiyyah

22. Ghulam Yahya b. Hajm al-Din of Bihar (1128)

1.Beale 144

2. Tadhkirah 159

3. Buhar 310

A. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL HASHIYAT AL

ZAHIDIYYAH 'ALA RISALAT QUTB AL DIN
(named lawa al huda fi 'l wa 'l duja)

Bri.Mus.

MSS.Buhar 310;Rampur 441; Delhi

1380;1537;Peshawar 1730

23. Hafiz Aman Allah of Banaras (1133)

See sections I,V.

B.1.RISALAH FI AL MUGHLATAT AL 'AMMAT
AL WURUD

Delhi 1568

2. RISALAH FI TASHI'Q AL MITHL AL AF

Catani Delhi 1671

3. RISALAH FI TAHQIQ AL KULLIYY AL
TBI'I

Delhi 1568/D

C.HASHIYAH 'ALA AL RASHIDIYYAH

Tadhkirah 27

24. Sa'd Allah b. 'Abd al- Shakur (1138)

1. Abjad 910

2. Tadhkirah 73

C. SHARH HIDAYAT AL HIKMAH

Tadhkirah 73

25. Habib Allah Qannawji (1140)

1. Abjad 934

2. Tadhkirah 46

B. RISALAH FI 'L MANTIQ

Rampur 450

26. 'Abd Al-Nabi of Ahmadnagar (about the middle of
12th century)

Tadhkirah 135

A.HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH TADHIB LI 'L YAZDI

Bri.Mus.

MSS. Miftah 1963; Rampur 438;

27. Nur al-Din of Ahmadabad (1155)

see sections I, II, III, IV, V, IX.

C.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL SHAMSIYYAH

Abjad 911

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH TADHIB

Ibid

28. Hamd Allah of Sandila (1160)

See section III.

A.1. SHARH SULLAM AL 'ULUM

Bri.Mus.

MSS. Miftah 1991; ~~188~~ Rampur 453

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL SHAMS AL BAZIGHAH

Bri.Mus.

MSS. Miftah 1881; Rampur 386

33. B. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH HIDAYAT AL HIKMAH
(i.e. SADRA)

Rampur 385

29. Nizam al-Din al-Sahalawi(1161)

See sections II;V.

- B.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA SADRA

Buhar 324;Rampur 384; Miftah 1867

Peshawar 1677.

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL SHAMS AL BAZIGHAH

Delhi 1640

30. Muhammad Panah entitled Musta'id Khan (in the time of
Muhammad Shah -1131-1161)

See section V

35. B. RISALH FI TAHQIQ AL JA'L AL BASIT

Rampur 449

31. Muhammad Asfraf b. Abu Muhammad al-'Abbasi al-Bardawani
(in the time of Muhammad Shah)

See Buhar No 304 & Mahbub p.417.

- B.SHARH SULLAM AL 'ULUM

Buhar 304;Miftah 1990

32. Qadi Muhammad Mubarak b. Muhammad Da im of Gopama u
(1162)

See section V.

- A.1. SHARH SULLAM AL'ULUM

Bri.Mus.

MSS. Loth 567;569; Calcutta LXI;

Rampur 455;

2. MINHIYYAT AL QADI 'ALA SHRMIHI

Bri.Mus.

MSS.Rampur 463; Miftah 2004;Delhi

1505.

- B. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT
AL JALALIYYAH

Rampur 447;Miftah 1938;Buhar

310 111;Delhi 1176

33. Kamal al-Din al-Sahalawi (1175)

See section V.

B.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT
AL JALALIYYAH

Delhi 1523; Rampur 447

2. AL 'URWAT AL WUTHQA

Rampur 339; Miftah 1914; Asafiyyah
1300; Bengal I 307; Bankipur 557;~~Delhi 1519~~

34. Mulla Musafir (composed in 1177)

See Mahbub 397

B. SHARH AL SULLAM

Mahbub 397

35. Muhammad Hasan b. Ghulam Mustafa (1198)

See sections III, V.

A. SHARH SULLAM AL 'ULUM

Bri. Mus.

MSS. Miftah 1993; Rampur 453

B.1. MA'ARIJ AL 'ULUM

Delhi 1519

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA SADRA

Miftah 1870; Rampur 383

3. HASHIYAT AL SHAMS AL BAZIGHAH

Bihar 333; Rampur 386; Miftah 1883.

4. HASHIYAT AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT AL
Qutbiyyah

Rampur 445

5. HASHIYAT AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT AL
JALALIYYAH

Delhi 1375; Rampur 447; Bihar 310;

Bengal I 325) either this or
previous one) Miftah 1940.

C. GHAYAT AL 'ULUM FI 'L TABI'IIYYAT

Tadhkirah 185

36. Barakat Allah (12th century)

See sections III, V, VII.

B. RISALAH FI AL HUDUTH

Rampur 391

37. Muhammad Amjad b. Muhammad Fayd Allah Qannawji (12th century)

XXXXXXXXXX

See Mahbub 786

B. XXXXX HASHIYAH SADRA

Rampur 383; Miftah 1864.

38. Sayyid Ahmad 'Ali of Sandilah (1200)

See section III.

B.1. HASHIYAT AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT AL QUTBIYYAH

Delhi 1523/b; Rampur 444; Miftah 1921

2. HASHIYAT AL/ZAHIDIYYAT AL JALALIYYAH

Delhi 1391; Rampur 448; Miftah 1948

3. SHARH SULLAM AL 'ULUM

Buhar 305; Rampur 456

39. Muhammad b. A'LAM b. Muhammad Shakir al-Sandili (1200)

See section III.

A. HASHIYAH SADRA

See Buhar 335

MSB. Rampur 383; Miftah 1869; Buhar 335

B. 1. RISALAH FI 'L TASHKIK

Rampur 340

2. QIST AL LABIB WA HAZZ AL ADIB

Ibid 400

40. Nizam al-Din b. Mahdawi (composed in 1208)

See Mahbub 316

B. RISALAH FI 'L TABI' IYYAT

Mahbub 316

41. Ghulam Husayn al-Shi'i (teacher of Sayyid Dildar 'Ali who died in 1235)

See Buhar 309 iv.

B. RISALAT AL JA'L

Buhar 309 iv

42. Muhammad Firuz b. Mahabbat (in the time of Shah 'Alam
91173-1221)

See Buar 301

B.SIRAJ AL WAHHAJ, SHARH SULLAM AL 'ULUM

Buhar 301;456;Miftah 1902

43. Sayyid Khwajah Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Qannawji
(in the time of Shah 'Alam)

Abjad 931

B.RISALAH AL MUGHALATAH

Delhi 1516

44. Mulla Muhammad b. Ni'mat Allah called Ibn Sharaf (1224)

B. AL DAWHAT AL SHAMIKHAH FI SHARH AL USUL
AL RASIKHAH

Rampur 398

45. Mulla Muhammad Mubin b. Muhibb Allah (1225)

See sections III,V.

A.MIR AT AL SHURUH, SHARH SULLAM AL 'ULUM

Bri.Mus.

MS.Rampur 456

46. B.1. HASHIYAT AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT AL

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Jalaliyyah

Delhi 1371;Rampur 448;Miftah 1942.

2. HASHIYAT AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT AL

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ QUTBIYYAH

Rampur 445

3. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL TAKRIR

Bengal I 292

46. Haydar 'Ali b. Hamd Allah al-Sandili (1225)

Tadhkirah 34

B.AL TAHRIRAT 'ALA SHARH SULLAM AL 'ULUM LI

HAMD ALLAH

Rampur 434

C. 1.TA'LIQAT ALA AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT

AL QUTBIYYAH

Tadhkirah 54

2. TA'LIQAT 'ALA AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT AL
JALALIYYAH

Tadhkirah 54

47. Hakim Sharif Khan b. Hakim Wasil Khan (1231)

1. Zayn al-'Abidin, Bustan
al-siyahat 289

2. Tadhkirah 85

See section VII.

B. HASHIYAH 'ALA HAMAD ALLAH (SHARH SULLAM AL 'ULM)

Buhar 306; Rampur 439

48. 'Abd al-'Ali Bahr al 'Ulm (1235)

See sections II, III, IV, V, VII.

50. A.1. SHARH SULLAM AL 'ULUM

Bri. Mus.

MSS BUHAR ~~302~~ 302; Rampur Asafiyyah No 11

(fann Mantiq)

2. TA'LIQAT 'ALA SHARH SULLAM

See Buhar 303;

MSS. Buhar 303; Rampur 463.

3. HASHIYAH 'ALA MUTHANNAT BI 'L TAKRAR

Bri. Mus.

B.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA SADRA

Buhar 334; Miftah 1868; Rampur 382

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA DABIT AL TAHDHIB

Bengal II; 74; Rampur 457; Delhi 1502.

3. TA'LIQAT AL UFUQ AL MUBIN

Rampur 380

4. AL 'UJALAT AL NAFI'AH

Rampur 399

5. HASHIYAT AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT AL
JALALIYYAH

Rampur 446

6. HASHIYAT AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT AL
QUTBIYYAH

Rampur 443; Miftah 1950, 1943.

49. Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Shah Wali Allah (1239)

See sections I, II, IV, V, VII, VIII, X, XI.

B.1.HASHIYAT AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT AL

QUTBIYYAH

Rampur 446

- xxhahhiyutxixhahhiyutxix

2. HASHIYAT AL HASHHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT AL

JALALIYYAH

Delhi 1500

3. HASHIYAH 'ALA SADRA

Rampur 384

50. Muhammad Khayr al-Din Jawnpuri (1243)

1. Elliot VIII 237

2. JASS XXIII.284;LXXI part 1
p.131

3. Buhar 332

A. NAQD AL JAWAHIR FI SHARH ZAWAHIR AL

JAWAHIR

MS. Duhar 332

51. Padl Imam of Khayrabad (1243)

1. Tadhkirah 162

2. Mahbub 184

A. 1. TASHHIDH AL ADHHAN FI SHARH AL NIZAN

Bri. Mus.

MS. Delhi 1529

2. MIRQAT

Bri. Mus.

MSS. ~~Rajmurti~~ Delhi 1529;1545

B. 1. HASHIYAT AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT

JALALIYYAH

Delhi 1513; Miftah 2841

2. TALKHIS AL SHIFA

Rampur 381

52. Shah Rafi' al Din b. Shah Wali Allah (1249)

~~xxxxxxxxxx~~

See sections I,X,XI.

B1. TAKMIL AL SANA'AT

Miftah 1927; Rampur 435

B. HASHIYAT AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYAT AL QUTBIYYAH

Rampur 445

53. Qadi Muhammed Irtida ~~Khan~~ 'Ali Khan b. Mustafa 'Ali
Khan of Gopama u (1251)

See sections II, IX.

A. AL TASRIH; RISALAH FI 'L MANTIQ

Bri.Mus.

B.1. SHARH SHARH TANDHIB

Asafiyyah 1557

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA SADRA

Rampur 384; Asafiyyah 1198

54. Muhammad Isma'il Landani (1253)

Tadhkirah 179

C.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH TANDHIB

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL MAYBUDHI

55. Sayyid Muhammad b. Sayyid Dildar 'Ali

See section V.

B. TA'LIQAT 'ALA HAMD ALLAH

Rampur 433

56. Zahur Allah b. Muhammad Wali b. Kufi Ghulam Mustafa
(1256)

Tadhkirah 99

A. HASHIYAT AL HASHIYAT ZAHIDIYYAT AL
JALALIYYAH

Bri.Mus.

MSS.Rampur 446; Delhi 1395

B. 1. HASHIYAH 'ALA DAHWAT AL MAYYADAH

Rampur 445 XXX 381

2. HASHIYAT AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT
AL QUTBIYYAH

Rampur 445; Miftah 1951

57. Muhammad Mu'in b. Mulla Muhammad Mubin (1258)

Tadhkirah 122 228

C. HASHIYAH 'ALA SADRA

58. 'Imad al-Din 'Uthmani labkani (pupil of Bahr al-'Ulum)

Tadhkirah 150

B.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA SADRA

Rampur 384

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA HAMD ALLAH

Buhar 307; Rampur 440; Delhi 1414.

3. AL QAWL PAYSAL, HASHIYAH 'ALA AL HASHIYAT

AL ZAHIDIYYAT AL QUTBIYYAH

Rampur 444; Miftah 1902

4. AL 'ASHARAT AL KAMILAH (RIS. FI TAHQIQ AL
'ILM WA 'L MA'LUM)

Rampur 449

5. AL 'UQDAT AL WATHIQAH

Bengal II 76

59. Muhammad Ahsan known as Hafiz Daraz of Peshawar (1263)

1. Hada iq 473

2. Tadhkirah 60

A. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH QADI MUBARAK 'ALA

SULLAM AL 'ULUM

Bri. Mus.

MSS. Buhar 308; Rampur 441; Peshawar

1686.

60. Wali Allah b. Habib Allah of Lucknow (1270)

See sections III, V, VIII.

B.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA SADRA

Rampur 384

2. AL TANBIHAT FI MABRATH AL TASHKIK FI
'L MAHIYYAT

Rampur 444 381

61. Khadim Ahmad (1271) MSS

See section III

A. HASHIYAH 'ALA MIR AT AL SHURUH

Bri. Mus.

62. Sayyid Husayn bi Sayyid Dildar 'Alī (1271)

See sections I,V.

B. AL TA'LIQAT 'ALA HAMD ALLAH

Rampur 434

63. Ahmad 'Alī 'Abbasi Chiryakutī (1272)

Tadhkirah 19 Lucknow

C.1 . NUR AL NAZAR FI 'ILM AL MUNAZARAH

2. ANWAR AHMADI, HASHIYAH QAL AQUL

3. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH SULLAM AL 'ULUM

64. Fadl Haqq b. Fadl Imam Khayrabadi (1278)

1. Abjad 923

2. Hada iq 480

3. Tadhkirah 164

4. Mahbub 181

See sections VIII,XI.

A. AL HADIYYAT AL SA'IDIYYAH

Bri.Mus.

MSS.Rampur 405;Miftah 1924

B.1. RISALAH FI RADD 'ALA AL QA ILIN BI

HARAKAT AL ARD

Berlin 5114

2. AL RAWD AL MAJUD FI TAHQIQ AL WUJUD

Rampur 394

3. RISALAH FI 'L 'ILM

Ibid 392

4. RISALAH FI QATIGHURIYAS

Ibid 392

5. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH QADI MUBARAK

Ibid 440;Miftah 1966

6. AL KAPI LI HALL ISAGHUJI

Rampur 460

C. 1. AL JINS AL GHALI FI SHARH AL JAWAHIR

AL 'ALI

Tadhkirah 164

2. RISALAH FI TAHQIQ AL KULLIYY AL TABI'I

Ibid

3. RISALAH FI TAHQIQ AL AJSAM

67. Shar al Islam b. Shuykh Ibid (13th century)

4. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL UFUQ AL MUBIN

Ibid

65. Rukn al-Din Muhammad Called Turab 'Ali of Lucknow
(1281)

See sections I, IX.

A. AL BAYAN AL WAFI FI HASHIYAT SHARH

SULLAN AL 'ULUM

66. Asad Allah of the 'Fi. Mus. (13th century)

B.1. AL BAYAN AL WAFI FI SHARH SHARH AL QADI

Rampur 432 434

2. AL TA'LIQAT AL AHSEN 'ALA SHARH MULLA

HASAN

Rampur 434

3. HASHIYAH HAMAD ALLAH

Ibid 439

4. AL TA'LIQAT AL MARDIYY 'ALA SHARH AL QADI

69. 'Abd al Ghafur b. Ibid 435

5. AL SHAMS AL DUHA LI IZALAT AL DUJA

Ibid 435; Miftah 1937

6. SHAWKAT AL HAWASHI LI IZALAT AL GHAWASHI

(HASHIYAH SADRA)

Rampur 398

7. HASHIYAT AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT AL

QUTBIYYAH

Delhi 1399.

66. Muhammad 'Azim b. Kifayat Allah (13th century)

See Ta rikh-i-Farrukhbada 166

B.1. SHARH SULLAN

Loth 571

2. HASHIYAT AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT AL

AL QUTBIYYAH

Rampur 445; Miftah 1938; 1945

3. HASHIYAH 'ALA SADRA

Rampur 385

67. Nur al Islam b. Shaykh al-Islam (13th century)

74. Hashiyat 'Ali B.1. HASHIYAT AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT AL QUTBIYYAH

Rampur 446

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH QADI MUBARAK

75. Hashiyat 'Ali Khan Ibid 441

3. RISALAH FI MAHIYYAT AL MAKAN

Ibid 393

68. Asad Allah of the Punjab (13th century)

B.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA HAMD ALLAH

Ibid 440

77. Taj al-Din Ahmad b. 2. RISALAH FI 'ILM AL WAJIB

Ibid 392

3. SHARH SULLAM

78. Muhammad Fakhr al-Din Tiftah 1994

4. HASHIYAH 'ALA SADRA

Rampur 383

69. 'Abd al Ghafur b. 'Abd al-'Aziz Sarhindi (13th cen)

79. Muhammad Fakhr al-Din B. SHARH AL MUBIN, SHARH SULLAM AL 'ULUM

Delhi 1452

70. Ghulam Mustafa b. Muhammad Mustafa (")

B. RISALAH FI SHARH AL MUQADDIMAH

80. Muhammad b. Ghulam Tahir Rampur 450

71. Ghulam Nabi of Shahjahanpur (")

Tadhkirah 272

81. Abd al-Hamid B. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT AL QUTBIYYAH

Rampur 440; Delhi 1380

72. Taj al-Din Ahmad al-'Abbasi

B. HASHIYYAT AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAT AL JALALIYYAH

83. 'Abd al-Ilah Muhammad Rampur 448

73. Muhammad Wali b. Wahid 'Ali Khan

73. Rafiq 'Ali B. HASHIYAT AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYAT AL
QUTBIYYAH
Rampur 446
74. Rustam 'Ali of Rampur
B. HASHIYAT AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAHT
AL QUTBIYYAH
Ibid 445
75. Husayn 'Ali Khan
B. Hashiyah on the same
Ibid 445
76. Qutb 'Alam of Muradabad
B. RISALAH FI 'L KULLIYY AL TABI'I
Ibid 392
77. Fayd Ahmad b. Shaykh Muhammad
B. HASHIYAH 'ALA HASHIYAT GHULAM YAHYA
Ibid 437
78. Muhammad Yusuf of Lucknow
B. AL AQWAL AL ARBA'AH FI RADD AL SHUBHAT
AL MURADAH
Ibid 433
79. Muhammad Hasan b. Mufti Abu 'l Hasan
B. GHAYAT AL KALAM FI HAQIQAT AL TASDIQ 'IND
AL HUKAMA WA 'L IMAN
Ibid 459
80. Muhammad b. Ghulam Muhammad
B. HASHIYAH 'ALA HASHIYAH MIR SAYYID
Miftah 1956
81. Abu 'L Muzaffar Shakaf al-Din
B. SHARH SULLAM
Miftah 1995
82. Majd al-Din, called mawhan b. 'Abd Allah
B. SHARH AL RISALAH FI 'L MUGHALATAH
Miftah 1989
83. 'Abd Allah Muhammad of Saharanpur
B. SHARH SULLAM
Rampur 456

84. Hafiz 'Ali asghar of Faydabad

B. HASHIYAH 'ALA HASHIYAH GHULAM YAHYA

Asafiyyah (Mantiq fann)

85. 'Abd al Malik

B. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL QADI

Peshawar 1737

86. Ghulam Subhan

B. HASHIYAT AL HASHIYAT AL ZAHIDIYYAH

Miftah 1944

~~WORKS OF EITHER 12 TH CENTURY OR 13 TH~~

WORKS OF EITHER 12 TH CENTURY OR 13 TH

1. Abd Allah b. al-Qadi

B. HAIL AL DABITAH

Rampur 448

2. Jar Allah of Allahabad

tashrih

B. RISALAH FI ~~FI~~ 'L MUHLATAZ AL 'AMMAH

AL WURUD

Delhi 1568/5

3. Muhammad Akram b. Muhammad Na'im

B. RISALAH FI 'L MANTIQ

Rampur 450

4. Shaykh Ilahi Baksh of Faydabad

B. TUFAN -1-SHAHJAHANI (SHARH

AL TAHDHIB)

Asafiyyah 1566

5. 'Abd Allah of the Punjab

B. NUSRAT AL HAWASHI

Rampur 466

87. Latif Allah al-Khandir b. al-Vasikh Ahmad al-Mi'har

(latter part of the 11 th century)

1. Mahabub 409

2. Rieu, Persian, p. 482

B. SHARH ATULABAY AL HUSAB

miftah 2032
mahabub

SECTION VII

MATHEMATICS AND MEDICINEPART A. Mathematics

1. Wajih al-Din of Gujarat (998)

See sections I, II, III, V, IX.

C. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH CHAGHMINI

Tadhkirah 250

2. Nur Allah Shustari (1010)

See sections I, II, III, V, VI, IX.

C. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH CHAGHMINI

Kashf

3. Hakim Mir Hashim Jilani (1061)

1. Farhat al nazirin (Oriental Magazine of Lahore XIV 73)

2. Mahbub 190

See sections VI, IX.

B.1. RISALAH FI 'ILM AL MUSIQI

Rampur 414

2. SHARH TAHRIR AL HANDSAH WA 'L HISAB

3. SHARH AL MAJASTI

Ibid 415

4. HASHIYAH TAHRIR UQLIDAS

4. 'Ismat Allah b. 'Azzat Allah of Saharanpur (1086)

See sections IV, IX.

A. ANWAR KHULASAT AL HISAB

See Loth 759

MSS. Peshawar 1694; Loth 759; Rampur 416

Miftah 2013

B.1. SHARH TASHRIH AL AWLAK

Asafiyyah 794; Rampur 427; Miftah 2054.

2. DABITAH QAWA'ID AL HISAB

Bengal N.a.6

5½. Lutf Allah al-Muhandis b. al-Ustadh Ahmad al-Mi'mar
(latter part of the 11 th century)

1. Mahbub 409

2. Rieu, Persian, p.451

B. SHARH KHULASAT AL HISAB

Loth 761; Rampur 416

Miftah 2032

Mahbub 409

6. Imam al-Din b. Lutf Allah al-Muhandas (composed in 1103)

Tadhkirah 262

13. Muhammad A.AL TASRIH FI SHARH TASHRIH AL AFEKAK

Bri.Mus. 125

MSB.Rampur 422;Delhi 1937

7. Mu'tamid Khan Rustam b. Diyanat Khan Qubad Harithi

(in Awrangzib's time)

1. Beale 284

2. Loth 764

15. Farahi B.KITAB AL MAQA IS bi Ashki (13th cent)

Loth 764;Bri.Mus. Cat.443(a portion)

8. Barakat Allah (12th century)

See sections III,V,VI.

16. Muhammad B.1.SHARH TAHRIR USUL AL HANDSAH WA 'L

HISAB

Miftah 2031

2. SHARH TAHRIR UQLIDAS

1. Muhammad Rampur 415

9. Tafaddul Husayn Kashmiri (1215)

Tadhkirah 37

2. Shaykh Sul B. RISALAH FI AL MAKHRUTAT

Miftah 2033

C. KITAB FI 'L JABR

Tadhkirah 37

10. 'Abd al-Basit b. Rustam 'Ali of Qannawj(1223)

See sections I,II,III.

B.SHARH KHULASAT AL HISAB

Rampur 416

11. Rawshan 'Ali (1225)

See MS Ta rikh-1-Farrukhabad

(Bri.Mus.)Folio 177

B. RISALAH FI 'L JABR WA 'L MUQABALAH

Rampur 413

12. 'Abd al-'Ali Bahr al-'Ulam (1235)

See sections II,III,IV,V,VI

B. SHARH AL MAJASTI

Bengal N.b.5

13. Muhammad Salim (1266)

Tajalli 128

C. RISALAH FI 'L JABR WA 'L MUQABALAH

14. 'Ali Kabir b. 'Ali Muhammad (1269)

Tajalli 124

c. 1. MAKHRUTAT JABRI

2. MAKHRUTAT HANDASI

15. Munshi Kunden Lal al-Mutakhallis bi Ashki (13th cent)

Mahbub 537

B. AL QUSTAS

5. Durrat al-Munawwarat Miftah 2058

16. Mannun Lal al-Mutakhallis bi Falsafi (13th cent)

B. RISALAH FI AL HISAB

Rampur 414

WORKS OF UNKNOWN DATES.

1. Muhammad 'Abid of Delhi

B. RISALAH FI ISTIKHRAJ AL AWSAT AL 'ULWIYYAH.

Rampur 424

2. Shaykh Sulayman b. Abi 'L Fath al-Kashmiri (

A. LUBB AL LUBAB SHARH KHULASAT AL HISAB

Rampur 417

PART B: MEDICINE.

1. Shanaq al-Hindi (2nd century)

1. 'Uyun al anba fi tabaqat al
atibba II 32

2. JRAS(VI)old series p.108;119

B. KITAB AL SUMUM

Berlin 6136;Cairo vi

N.B. It is not the original work of the author: it is an Arabic translation made by al-'Abbas b. Sa'id al-Jawhari.

2. Sayyid 'Abd al-Faghtah b. Sayyid Isma'il al-Husayni
of Lahore (composed in 949)

B. SHARH QANUNJAH
Asafiyah 928.

3. Hakim 'Ali al-Jilani Jalinus-i-zaman(1018)

1. Bada uni III 166
2. Tabaqat 281
3. Ma athir al umara I 568
4. Beale 151

B. SHARH AL QANUN

Bankipur IV 35; Rampur 485; Asafiyyah
926.

4. Mir Hashim (1061)

See VII Part A.

B. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL ASBAB

Bankipur IV, 73

5. Durwish Muhammad b. Hafiz 'Alim Khan (in Shahjahan's time)

See Oriental Magazine of Lahore for
November 1928, p. 24

B. 1. AL 'UJALAT AL NAFI'AH

Asafiyyah 928

2. RISALAH FI 'L ADWIYAT AL MURAKKABAH

Bankipur IV 108 x

6. Muhammad Akbar called Hakim Arzani (in Awrangzib's time)

1. Tadhkirah 12
2. Mahbub 465

B. HUDUD AL AMRAD

Peshawar 1505; Asafiyyah

7. Shaykh Kalim Allah Jahanbadi (1140)

See section IV.

B. SHARH AL QANUN

Rampur 486

8. Hakim Muhammad Kazim (1149)

See Bankipur IV 84

B. 1. AKMAL AL SANA'AH

Bankipur IV 84; Rampur 468

2. JAMI' AL SANA'AH

Rampur 473

9. Mu'tamad al-Mulk Muhammad hashim b. Hakim Muhammad Hadi
called Sayyid 'Alawi Khan (1160)

1. Tadhkirah 150

2. Bankipur IV 107

B.1. QARABADIN

Bankipur IV 107

2. KITAB FI AHWAL AL A'DA AL NAFIS

Rampur 492

3. SHARH MUJIZ, entitled AL TUHFAT AL 'ALA-
WIYYAH WA 'L IDAH 'ALIYYAH

Ibid 487

10. Ishaq Khan b. Isma'il Khan (composed in 1182)

See Mahbub 495; 787

B.1. GHAYAT AL FUHUM FI TADBIR AL MAHMUM

Bankipur IV 40; Rampur 486

2. MAWARID AL HIKAM FI 'ILAJ AL AMRAD

MIN AL RA S WA 'L QADAM

Rampur 499

11. Hakim Fath 'Ali Khan b. Hikmat Allah Khan (12th cent)

See ~~Rampur~~ Bankipur IV 108

17. Hakim al Atibba Hakim 'Ali Khan of Lucknow (in the

viii

B. RISALAH FI 'L BAH

Bankipur IV 108 vii.

12. Hakim A'ajib b. Mu'ali Khan (12th cent)

B. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL NAFISI

Ibid 46

13. Hakim Muhammad Husayn Khan (composed in 1208)

B. TANQIH AL ASBAB WA 'L 'ALAMAT

Asafiyyah 918

14. Hakim Shifa i Khan (in the time of Nawwab Sa'adat 'Ali
Khan of Oudh 1212-1229)

B.1. JARAHAT AL MU'ANIDIN

Rampur 473

2. RISALAH SHIFA I KHAN

Asafiyyah 922

3. AL PAWA ID AL SHIFA IYYAH, SHARH MUJIZ

4. KITAB AL HUMMAYAT

Bengal I 792

5. SHARH KULLIYYAT AL QANUN

Bankipur IV 41

15. Hakim Sharif Khan of Delhi (1231)

1. Hajji Zayn al-~~XX~~ 'Abidin,
Bustan al-Siyahat 289

2. Tadhkirah 85

B.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL NAFISI

Bankipur IV 48

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL ASBAB WA 'L
'ALAMAT

Asafiyyah 920

16. Muhammad Sharif b. Hadhiq al-Mulk Akmal Khan (in the
time of Shah'Alam)

B.1. AL PAWA ID AL SHARIFIYYAH, HASHIYAH

'ALA SHARH AL ASBAB

Bankipur IV 74; Bengal II 66

2. SHARH AL QANUN('ALA AL HUMMAYAT)

Rampur 487

17. Ra is al Atibba Hakim 'Ali Sharif of Lucknow (in the
time of Ghazi al-Din Haydar)

B. ASRAR AL 'ILAJ

Bankipur IV 85; Asafiyyah 914

18. Hakim Imam Bakhsh (a pupil of Hakim Muhammad Ishaq)

Tadhkirah 27

C.1. ADAB AL ATIBBA

2. MA'RIKAT AL A RA , SHARH ADAB AL ATIBBA

19. Hakim Masih al-Dawlah 'Ali Hasan Khan (13th cent)

B. RISALAH FI JAWAB ISTIFTA 'AN AKL BAYD

AL DAJAJAH LI 'L NASHUM

Asafiyyah 922

20. Muhammad Mahdi b. 'Ali Asghar b. Nur Muhammad Khan
(1253)wa
1. Miftah al ta/rikh 587

2. Beale 230

B. HILYAT AL WASIFIN WA WISHAH AL TALIBIN

Bankipur IV 86

21. Hakim Muhammad 'Ali of Lucknow

(959)

B. AJWIBAT AL SAWALAT

Asafiyyah 914

C. TABBIRAT AL HADRAT AL SHARIYYAT AL

AMHADIYYAH BI SIRAT AL HADRAT AL NAWWIYYAH
AL AMHADIYYAH

2. Sayyid al-Din b. 'Abd al-'Aziz (after 987)

See sections II, III.

A. TUNYAT AL MUJAHIDIN

MS. Loch V14: 10447; Bri. Mus. 94

See Brockelmann II 416

3. Makhdam al-Malik 'Abd Allah Sultanpuri (990)

See sections III, V, IX.

C. KINHAJ AL DIN

Manthir al umara III 352

4. Qutb al-Din Muhammad b. 'Ala al-Din Ahmad b. Muhammad
b. Qadi Khan (990)

1. Al-mur al safir folio 133 b

2. Al-kawakib al-an irsh folio 176

3. Buchtenfeld Gerch. No. 534

4. Jurji Baydan II 309

A. I'LAN BI I'LAN AL SALAD AL HARAM

MS. Berlin 5000-5; Com. 1708-9;

Paris 700-501; Paris 1027-42;

Bri. Mus. 306-7; Pat. Am 181;

(See Brockelmann II 303)

B. AL-SALAM AL YAHIRI

Berlin 572-1024; 1610; Vienna 977;

Paris 1000-501; Berlin 1000;

Paris 977

C. AL-SALAM AL YAHIRI

Paris 977

5. 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Siraj al-Din 'Abd al-Ghaffar

SECTION VIII
HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

1. Qadi Jamal al-Din Muhammad known as Bahraq alHadrami
(929)

See al-Nur al-Safir Folio 53b

C. TABSIRAT AL HADRAT AL SHAHIYYAT AL
AHMADIYYAH BI SIRAT AL HADRAT AL NABAWIYYAH
AL AHMADIYYAH

2. Zayn al-Din b. 'Abd al-'Aziz (after 987)

See sections II, III.

A. TUHFAT AL MUJAHIDIN

MSS. Loth 714; 1044Y; Bri.Mus.94

See Brockelmann II 416

3. Makhdum al-Mulk 'Abd Allah Sultanpuri(990)

See sections III, V, IX.

C. MINHAJ AL DIN

Maathir al umara III 252

4. Qutb al-Din Muhammad b. 'Ala al-Din Ahmad b. Muhammad
b. Qadi Khan (990)

1. Al-nur al safir folio 133 b

2. Al-kawakib al-sa'irah folio 174

3. Wuestenfeld Gesch.No.534

4. Jurji Zaydan II 309

A. I'LAM BI A'LAM AL BALAD AL HARAM

MSS. Berlin 6065-6; Goth 1708-9;

Leid 798-801; Paris 1037-42;

Bri.Mus. 326-7; Pet Am 181;

(See Brockelmann II 382)

B.1. AL BARQ AL YAMANI

Berlin 9742; Goth 1616; Vienna 977;

Paris 1644-50; Bri.Mus.1646;

Rien 588

2. MUNTAKHAB AL TA RIKH

Leid 2010

5. 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Siraj al-Din 'Umar al-Nahrwali

al-Asafi al-ulagh-Khani, called Hajji Dabir (after 1020)

For the life of his, see the introduction of

the Editor of the text Vo. II. p. xviii-xxvii

A. ZAFAR AL WALIH BI MUZAFFAR WA ALIH

Edited in 3 volumes by Sir Denison Ross.

MS. Calcutta LXXXVI

C. FAWATIH AL IQBAL WA FAWA ID AL INTIQA

See the introduction to the

second volume p. xix.

7

7. Hasan b. 'Ali b. Shadqan (1046)

See section II

B. ZAHIR AL HIYAD WA ZULAL AL HIYAD

Buhar 269; Bri. Mus. 365 (only 111 part)

Delhi 1329 (a small portion) Nadhir

Ahmad 73; see Brockelmann II 415

6

6. 'Abd al-Qadir al-'Aydarus (1038)

See sections I, IV, V, X.

B.1. AL NUR AL SAPIR FI AHVAL AL QARN AL KXSH

'ASHIR

Bri. Mus. 937; Rampur 650; Bankipur

XII 659;

2. AL MUNTAKHAB AL MUSTAFA MIN AKHBAR X

MAWLAD AL MUSTAFA

Berlin 9635

3. KITAB ITHAF AL HADRAT AL 'AZIZAH LI

'UMUN AL SIRAT WAJIZAH

Ibid 9660

4. KITAB AL RAWD AL NADIR FI MAN ISMUHU

'ABD AL QABIR

Ibid 9890

5. SIDQ AL WAFI BI HAQQ AL IKHA

Ibid 10139

6. RISALAH FI MANAQIB AL BUKJARI

Buhar 454

7. IS'AF IKHWAN AL SAFA BI SHARH TUHFAT

AL ZURAFI

Ibid 201

12. Sayyid Ghulam 8. MAWLID AL NABI (1200)

Bengal I 1025 (1200 II, X, XI)

C.1. AL ANNUZAJ AL LATIF FI AHL BADR AL SHARIF
in
Autobiography Al-Hur al-safir

2. 'IQD AL LA AL BI PADA IL AL AL (1732)

3. QURRAT AL 'AYN FI MANAQIB AL WALI

13. Shah 'Abd al-MUHAMMAD HUSAYN (1239)

8. (Abd al-Haqq Haqqi of Delhi (1052) I, II, IV, V, VI, IX, X, XI)

SEE sections I, II, IV, V, VI.

B. TAKMILAH MADARIJ AL NABUTWAH

Bengal I 224 (1239 D. 30)

9. SADR AL-Din 'Ali b. Ahmad b. Ma'sum, commonly called
Sayyid 'Ali Khan or Ibn Ma'sum al-Madani (1117)

See sections V, IX.

15. Ahmad b. A. SULAFAT AL XXIII 'ASR FI MAHASIN A'YAN AL
Yamani al-Shih 'ASR (1280)

Bri. Mus. Tadkhira 19

MSS. Buhar 270; Vienna 409; Berlin 7418;

Br. Mus. p. 601; Bankipur XII 795;

Rasul Asafiyyah (fann trajim No. 50)

16. Muhammad Bahadur Bengal I 494; Edinburgh 48; Asad Efendi

B. Aya Sufiyah 2736; B. SHAYR AL BAHAR

B.1. AL DARAJAT AL RAPI'AH FI TABAQAT AL

17. Wali Allah of India IMANIYYAH MIN AL ~~SHU'UBAH~~ SHI'AH

Berlin 10050 (III, V, VI)

2. SALWAT AL GHARIB FI USWAT AL ADIB

18. Muhammad Fadi Haqq Khayrabadi Ibid 6136

10. Muhammad Siddiq of Lahore (1192) sections VI, XI

B. RUSALAH B. Ikh-i-Shadr) See section V.

C. SILK AL DURAR LI AKMAL AL RUSAL AL ATHAR

19. Sayyid I'jaz Husayn of Hada 1q 452

11. An unknown scholar of the 12th cent.

B. A BOOK CONTAINING ACCOUNTS OF SOME
INDIAN SCHOLARS

See Nadhir Ahmad 146

12. Sayyid Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgrami (1200)

See sections II,X,XI.

A. SUBHAT AL MAR JAN FI A THAR HINDUSTAN

Bri.Mus.

MSS.Bankipur xii 810;Asad Ayay/ 2732;

Calcutta LXXXVIII

13. Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz of Delhi (1239)

See sections I,II,IV,V,VI,IX,X,XI.

A. SIRR AL SHAHADATAYN

Bri.Mus.

MSS. Rampur 638;Bengal D. 36

14. Karamat 'Ali of Delhi (1248)

A. AL SIRAT AL MUHAMMADIYYAH

Bri.Mus.

15. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. 'Ali b. Ibrahim al-Ansari al-Yamani al-Shirwani (1256)

1. Tadhkirah 19

2. Buhar 434

See section X.

C.TAJ AL IQBAL FI TA RIKH MULK BHOPAL

16. Muhammad Bahadur 'Ali Khan (composed about 1253)

B.AMIR AL SIYAR FI HAL KHAYR AL BASHAR

Rampur 652

17. Wali Allah of Lucknow (1270)

See sections III,V,VI.

A. AL AGHSAN AL ARBA'AH

18. Muhammad Fadl Haqq Khayrabadi (12780

See sections VI,XI.

B. RISALAH GHADRIYYAH (ta rikh-i-Ghadr)

Nadhira Ahmad 151

19. Sayyid I'jaz Husayn of Kantur (1286)

1. Nujum 422

2. Mahbub 632

3. Kashf ,Preface

See section IX

B. SHUDHUR AL 'IQYAN FI TRAJIM AL A'YAN

Buhar 278; Nadhir Ahmad 147

20. 'Abbas Mirza b. Sa'id Ahmad Husayni (13th cent)

B. AL HISH AL MATIN (Ta rikh-i-Awadh)

A.1. KITAB

Bengal II 104

WORKS OF UNKNOWN DATES

1. Mamluk 'Ali of Delhi

A. TA RIKH YAMINI

3. KITAB AL

Bengal D.20

2. 'Abd Allah of Ahmedabad

B. RABI' AL QULUB

Cairo IV 167

Bengal D.28

3. AL TARKHIM WA 'L SHAYL WA 'L SILAH

Eri. Mus. p. 27; Berlin 6939;

Cairo IV 167; Koprili 1582

5. AL MUNTASAB FI AL 'ARUD

Berlin 7127

4. NAJMA' AL SAHAYN

Koprili 1570

2. Hu'in al-Din 'Imrani (in the time of Muhammad Tughlaq - 725)

See section III.

C. 1. HASHIYAT AL NIFTAR

Elliot iv 456

2. HASHIYAT AL TALHIN

Ibid

3. Siraj al-Din 'Umar b. Ismaq al-Hindi (773)

See sections II, III, IV, V.

B. SHARH AL BADI' LI IMN SA'ATI

'Atif 694; Wali al-Din 2041

Gill; 301

4. Sayyid Yusuf Multani (790)

See section III

C. YUSUFI, SHARH LUBB AL ALFAN FI 'ALM

AL Y'RAD

SECTION IXPHILOLOGY

1. Hasan b. Muhammad b. Hasan al-Sahgani (650)

See sections II, XI.

A.1. KITAB AL ADDAD

See Mu'jam al-Matbu'at p.1209
MSS. Berlin 7092; Delhi 1281

2. KITAB YAF'UL

See Mu'jam 1209

3. KITAB AL DHI B

B.1. AL 'UBAB AL DHAKHIR WA 'L LUBAB AL FAKHIR

Aya Sifiyah 4702; Koprili 1551;3;

Cairo IV 167

2. AL TAKHILAH WA 'L DHAYL WA 'L SILAH

Bri. Mus. p.27; Berlin 6939;

Cairo IV 167; Koprili 1522

3. AL MUKHTASAR FI AL 'ARUD

Berlin 7127

4. MAJMA' AL BAHRAYN

Koprili 1570

2. Mu'in al-Din 'Imrani (in the time of Muhammad Tughlaq -
725)

See section III.

C. 1. HASHIYAT AL MIFTAH

Elliot iv 486

2. HASHIYAT AL TALKHIS

Ibid

3. Siraj al-Din 'Umar b. Ishaq al-Hindi (773)

See sections II, III, IV, V.

B. SHARH AL BADI' LI IBN SA'ATI

'Atif 694; Wali al-Din 954;

Qiliq 301

4. Sayyid Yusuf Multani (790)

See section III

C. YUSUPI, SHARH LUBB AL ALBAB FI 'ILM

AL I'RAB

5. Badr al-Din Muhammad b. Abu Bakr b. 'Umar al-Makhdhumi al-Damamini (823)

See sections III, V.

2. SHARH SHARH AL JAMI See section II

B.1. AL MANHAL AL SAFI SHARH AL WAFI

16. Tajid al-Din of Gujarat Loth 972; Rampur 549.

2. TUHFAT AL GHARIB SHARH MUGHNI AL

B.1. LABIB 'ALA SHARH AL JAMI

Berlin 6728-8 ; Loth 967; Leid 217;

Escur 203; Munch 739; Cairo iv 75

3. TA'LIQ AL FARA ID SHARH TASHIL AL

2. AL FAWA ID AL

Loth 964; Rampur p 540

6. Shihab al-Din al-Dawlatbadi (849)

See sections III, V, X

B.1. IRSHAD AL NAHW (or AL IRSHAD FI 'L NAHW)

17. Haddad of the Snow Bri. Mus. 525; Loth 974-5; Leyden

232; Khusrav Pasha 663; Bengal

B.3; Asafiyyah 1638; Rampur

525; Peshawar 1275; Buhar 394;

Madras; Miftah 1516

2. AL SHARH AL HINDI, SHARH AL KAFIYAH

Sulaymaniyyah 936; Asad Efendi

Madrasah p.29; Mahmud Pasha II 347;

19

18. 'Umar al-Din Muhammad Qili; 952; Aya Sufiyah 4501; Wali

al-Din 2974; Lalah li 4314-6; R

Damad 1037; Asad Efendi Aya Sufiyah

3080; 'Abd Allah 355; Loth 937;

Delhi 1166; Berlin 6584-5; Bengal

B.26,27; Asafiyyah ; Rampur 545;

Pet. 175

7. Sa'd al-Din of Khayrabad (882)

See sections III, IV.

C. SHARH AL KAFIYAH

1,

Tadhkirah 76

2. SHARH SHARH AL JAMI

Ibid

15. Makhdum al-Mulk 'Abd Allah of Sultanpur (990-

See sections III,V.

C. SHARRH SHARRH AL JAMI

Ma athir al-umara 111 252

16. Wajih al-Din of Gujarat (998)

See sections I,II,III,V.

B.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARRH AL JAMI

Buhar 387; Aya Sufiyah 4457; Mahmud

Pasha II, 338; Rampur 535; 'Amujah

Husayn 408; Bengal I 310; Delhi 1071.

2. SHARRH IRSHA AL NAHW

Loth 976; Rampur 536.

C.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL MUTAWWAL

Tadhkirah 280

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA MUKHTASAR AL MA'ANI

Ibid

17. Ilahdad of Lu cknow (10th cent)

~~See section~~

1. Bada uni III 85

2. Tabaqat 213 b

3. Tadhkirah 25

See section X.

C. QUTBI FI 'L NAHW

Bada uni III 85

19

20. 'Imad al-Din Muhammad 'Arif al-'Uthmani called 'Abd al Nabi (after 1020)

See sections I,II,III,IV,V,VI,XX.

C. 1. HASHIYAH SHARRH AL JAMI

Tadhkirah 135

2. SHARRH AL IRSHAD

Ibid

18. Qadi Nur Allah Shustari (1019)

See sections I,II,III,V,VI,

VII.

B. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL SHARRH AL HINDI

Rampur 536

C.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL MUKHTASAR

FI 'L MA'ANI WA 'L BAYAN 336;

Kashf

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL JAMI Bihar 403;

Ibid

20. 'Iamat Allah of Saharanpur (1088)

See sections IV,VII

B. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL JAMI

Constantinople: Isma'il Khan 377;

'Amujah 407; Mahmud Pasha II 337;

Delhi 1065

21. Hakim Mir Hashim (1061)

See sections VI,VII. Bengal B.134

B.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL MUTAWWAL

Rampur 562

2. AL MUHAKKIMAH 'ALA AL HASHIYAT

AL QUSHJIYYAH

Ibid 568

22. Mulla Mahmud Jawhpuri (1062)

See sections IV,V.

B. AL FARA ID SHARH AL PAWA ID AL GHIYA-
THIYYAH

Delhi 1207; Miftah 1663;

Rampur 567; Bengal H. 19;

Bengal II 486

23. 'Abd al-Hakim al-Siyalkuti (1067)

See sections I,III,V,VI.

A.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL MUTAWWAL

Bri.Mus.

MSS.JAMI' SHARIFI 458; Asad

Efendi Madrasah p;28; Sulaumaniyyah

887; Mahmud Pasha 331; Qillij 864;

Wali al-Din 2770; Fatih 4563;

Asad Efendi Aya Sufiyah 2972;

Dih-bash 684;689;711; 'atif 2328 ;

Sarvili 257; Damad Qadi 1599;
 Hamidiyyah 1230; 'Abd Allah 336;
 Fayd Allah Efendi 117; Loth 876;
 Delhi 1192; Peshawar 1161; Buhar 403;
 Miftah 1643; Derenburg 235; see
 Brockelmann I 295

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL JAMI

27. 'Abd al-Habib b. 'Abd al-Rahman al-Hafsi (11th cent)
 Bri.Mus.

MSS. Loth 930+1; Buhar 390; Miftah
 1544

3. TAKMILAH HASHIYAH 'ABD AL GHAFUR 'ALA
 SHARH AL JAMI

28. Ahmad b. Ali '1 Ghayth b. Ahmad (11th cent)
 MSS. Loth 928; Delhi 1035; Bengal B.13;
 Calcutta X LXX; Miftah 1532.

B.1. HASHIYAH 'ALA HASHIYAH 'ABD AL GHAFUR
 'ALA SHARH AL JAMI

29. Sadr al-Din 'Ali b. Ahmad (11th cent)
 Sayyid 'Ali Khan or Ibn al-Hafsi (11th cent)
 Jami' sharif 538; Qiliq 899; Sarvili
 286; Catro ;Loth 930; Bengal B.22
 Asafiyyah 1642; Calcutta LXXI.

2. SHARH MIRAN AL ARWAH

MSS. Rieu al-Bihar 7384;
 Delhi 1018

24. Nur al-Haqq Nizami b. 'Abd al Haqq Haqqi (1073)

See sections I,II.

B.HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL JAMI

Peshawar 1306

25. 'Abd al-Rashid of Jawnpur (1083)

See sections III,VI.

C.1. TADHKIRAT AL NAHW

Akbar al-nuhat 125

2. BIDAYAT AL NAHW

Ibid

26. 'Ali Akbar of Allahabd (1091)

1. Rieu, Persian 11 226

32. Ghulam Nizamuddin b. 'Abd al-Rahman (11th cent)
 2. Mahbub 422 (1126)

3. Bibliotheca Sprenger 1069

A.X.USUL AKBARI

Bri.Mus

MSS.Buhar 377;Delhi 1001. Rampur

523;

B.SHARH USUL AKBARI

Bengal B.44; Calcutta Lxxvi;

Rampur 322.

27.)Abd al-Labib b. 'Abd al-Hakim al-Siyalkuti (11th cent)

See sections I,III

A. HASHIYAH 'ALA HASHIYAH 'ABD AL

GHAFUR 'ALA SHARH AL JAMI

Bri.Mus

28. Ahmad b. Abi 'l Ghayth b. Mughalta 1 (116)

Brockelmann II 415

B. MULHAT AL BADI' WA BAHJAT AL BADI'

Paris 4431,11

29. Sadr al-Din 'Ali b. Ahmad b. Muhammad Ma'sum, known as
Sayyid 'Ali Khan or Ibn Ma'sum (1117)

See sections V,VIII.

A. ANWAR AL RABI' FI ANWA' AL BADI'

MSS. Ricu Ar. 990-1;Berlin 7384;

Paris 3-55; Cairo iv 209;

Miftah 1747;Edinburgh 42;

Leyden II ed. 340;Landberg

346;

30. Mulla Muhammad Muhsin Kashmiri (1119)

See sectio III

C.HASHIYAH 'ALA AL MUTAWWAL

Tadhkirah 212

31. Sayyid Muhammad of Qannawj (Awrangzib's time)

Tadhkirah 83

22

C. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL MUTAWWAL

Ibid

32. Ghulam Naqshband b. 'Ata Allah of Lucknow (1126)

See section I

B. SHARH QASIDAT AL KHAZRAJIYYAH

Miftah 2551/2; Nadhir Ahmad 97

33. Muhammad b Hassan al-Isfahani, known as al-Fadil al-Hindi
(1137)

See section III.

C. AL TALKHIS FI 'L BALAGHAH

Nujum 211

2. MUNYAT AL HARIS SHARH AL TALKHIS

Ibid

34. 'Abd al-Nabi b. 'Abd al-Rasul of Ahmadnagar (middle
of the 12th cent)

See section VI.

B. DASTUR AL 'ULAMA

Miftah 2804.

35. Nur al-Din of Ahmadabad (1155)

See sections I, II, III, IV, V, VI.

C.1. MU'AWWAL HASHIYAH 'ALA AL MUTAWWAL

Tdhkireh 248

2. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL JAMI

Ibid

3. HASHIYAT AL MAHAL

Ibid

36. Shaykh ~~Ali~~ Muhammad 'Ali b. ~~Muhammad~~ 'Ali b. Hajji
Muhammad Hamid b. Muhammad Sabir al-Faruqi (composed
in 1156)

1. Brockelmann II 421

2. Jurji Zaydan III 329

3. Mahbub 597.

A. KASHSHAF ISTILAHAT AL FUNUN

Bri. Mus.

MSB. Rampur 513; Miftah 2806

37. Nur Muhammad Kashmiri (1195)

See sections III, V.

A. HASHIYAH 'ALA SHARH AL JAMI

Bri. Mus.

B. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL MUTAWWAL

Rampur 563

38. Sayyid Muhammad Murtada al-Zabidi (1205)

44. ~~Jawad Sabat~~ See sections I, II, III, IV, V

A. TAJ AL 'ARUS SHARH AL QAMUS

MSS. See Brockelmann II 288 'ARUS

B. AL QAWL AL MABTUT FI TAHRIR LAFZ AL
TABUT

Cairo iv 179

C.1. TARKHILAT AL QAMUS

45. ~~Rukn al-Din Muhammad~~ Tadhkirah 225

(1281)

2. AL TAFTIH FI MA'NA LAFZ DURWISH

3. AL MUNA FI SIRR AL KUNA

4. AL TA'RIF BI DARIRIYYAT 'ILM AL TASRIF

39. 'Alim Allah b. Fasih al-Din of Qannawj (composed in
1211)

See section II

C. 'AYN AL HUDA SHARH QATE AL NADA

Tadhkirah 148

40. 'Abd al-Basit b. Rustam 'Ali of Qannawj (1223)

See sections I, II, III.

B. SHARH AL SHAFIYAH

Buhar 375

41. Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Shah Wali Allah of Delhi (1239)

46. Sayyid I'jaz ~~Hasayn~~ See sections I, II, IV, V, VI, VIII,

X, XI.

~~Brockelmann II~~ II

B. I'JAZ AL BALAGHAH

Rampur 559

42. Fadl Imam Khayrabadi (1243)

See section VI.

B. RISALAH FI AL NAHW

Delhi 1082

43. Muhammad Irtida 'Ali Khan (1251)

See sections II, VI.

A. AL TASRIH AL MUHASHSHA FI FANN AL
MANTUQ

Bri.Mus.

44. Jawad Sabat

See sections IV,V.

C.1. AL MUJIZ AL NAPI' FI 'L AL 'ARUD

Tadhkirah 44

2. AL ANNUDHAJ AL SABATI FI 'L 'ARUD

WA 'L QAWAFI

Ibid

45. Rukn al-Din Muhammad called Turab 'Ali of Lucknow
(1281)

See sections I,VI.

1. Siraj al-Din Anshari

A.1. WASIT AL NAHW

Asafiyyah

XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX

2. IZALAT AL 'UDAL 'AN ASH'AR AL

MUTAWWAL

Bri.Mus.

C. 1. MISFAT AL ADHHAN FI TANHIQ AL

SUBHAN

Tadhkirah 35

2. MINHIYYAT AL MISFAT

Ibid

46. Sayyid I'Jaz Husayn Kanturi(1286)

See section VIII.

A.KASHE AL HUJUB WA 'L ASTAR 'AN AL

KUTAB WA 'L ASFAR

Bri.Mus.

47. 'ABD AL-Rahim b. 'Abd al-Karim of Safipur (13th Cent)
Tadhkirah 119

A.1. AWDAN AL MASALIK ILA ALFIYYAH

IBN AL MALIK

Bri.MUs.

2. DARURAT AL ADIB

Bri.Mus.

- Ibid

- Ibid

B.HALL LUGHAT AL MAQAMAT AL HARIRIYYAH

Delhi 1269

- B. HASHIYAH 'ALA AL KAFIYAH

Delhi 1167

WORKS OF UNKNOWN DATES.

- 1.

1. Siraj al-Din Awadhi

B. HIDA^{YAT} AL NAHW
Rampur 557

2. Shaykh Muhammad known as Salim b. al-Ja'fari al-Jawnpuri
 XXX
 'XX

B. AL MIZAN FI 'ILMAY AL 'ARUD WA 'L QAWAFI

Kampur 573

- ### 3. Qadi Ghulam Muhammad of Lahore

B. HAWASHI ANWAR AL FAWA ID 'ALA
HASHTIYAH 'ABD AL GHAFUR
Peshawar 1313

4. Muhammaad Farid b. Muhammad Sharif of Ahmadabad

B . HASHIYAT AL MUTAWWAL
Miftah 1647

- ### 5. Mas'ud Multani

AL SHAMSIYYAH,
B./SHARRH MI ATAH 'AMIL LI 'ABD AL
RASUL
Rampur 546

6. Ahmad b. Mas'ud al-Hasani of Nagran

B. NADIR AL BAYAN FI AL NAHW
~~Madhira~~ Edinburgh 37

7. Ilahi Bakhsh of Faysalabad

A. RISALAH FI 'L NAHW
Bengal B.29(lithographed)

SECTION XORNATE PROSE AND BELLES LETTRES

1. Muhammad b. Ahmad b. 'Ali entitled Sultan al-Nashaikh Nizam al-Din Awliya (725)

1. Akhbar 54
2. Pirishtah 11 730
3. Safinat al-awliya 97
4. Haddiq 277
5. Tadhkirah 240

A. KHUTBAT AL JUMA'H

2. Shihab al-Din al-Dawlatbadi (849)

See sections III,V,IX.

A. AL MUSADDID AL FADL SHARH ' BABAT SU'AD '

Bri.Mus.

3. Qutb al-Din Muhammad b. Ahmad/Makki al-Nahrwali (990)

See section VIII,IX.

B. AL TATHIL WA 'L MUHADARAH FI ITIBAT MUFRADAT AL NADIRAH

Cairo iv,229; Leid 356

4. Ilahdad of Lucknow (10th cent)

See section IX.

C. 1. RISALAH BI TARIQ AL JADWAL (in 14 lines containing the problems of 14 sciences)

Bada uni 11186

2. QAYTUN (AL HAQAMAT AL KHAMSAH)

Ibid

5. 'Imad al-Din Muhammad 'Arif al-'Uthmani, called 'Abd al-Nabi al-Shattari (after 1020)

See sections I,II,IV,V,VI,IX.

C. KUNUZ AL ASRAR FI SHARH ASH'AR AL SHATTAR

Tadhkirah 135

2. HADA IQ AL INSHA

6. 'Abd al-Qadir al-'Aydarus of Ahmadabad (1038)

See sections I, IV, V, VIII.

B.1. AL MAKATIB

12. Sayyid Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Qadir al-'Aydarus Delhi 1272; Berlin 8633. (1156)

2. PATH AL JAWAD (SHARH QASIDAT 'ABD AL HADI)

Buhar 432

3. SHARH AL QASIDAT AL NUNIYYAH LI ABI BAKR

'Abd. 'ABD ALLAH AL 'AYDARUS 11 158-163

Buhar 433; Berlin 4012

7. 'Abd Allah b. Jumu'ah al-Lahori al-Hindi (1122)

13. Sayyid 'Abd Allah b. Jumu'ah al-Lahori al-Hindi See Brockelmann II 416

B. MUBHIJ LI 'L NUFUS WA MUBLIJ AL

'ABUS FI NAWADIR AL HIKAYAT WA GHARA IB AL MUSAMMARAT

Pet. Ros 112

8. Sayyid Abu Bar b. Muhsin al-Ba'budi al-'alawi (composed in 1128)

A. AL MAQAMAT AL HINDIYYAH

India Office

MSS. Asafiyyah 1524; Buhar 424; Peshawar

1195; Rampur 619

9. Sayyid 'Abd al-Jalil Bilgrami (1138)

1. Ma athir 330

2. Subhan 79

3. Abjad 907

4. Hada iq 437

5. Tadhkirah 108

6. Beale X 4

10. Sayyid Ahmad Shabid (1140)

7. Hayat -i-Jalil

B. HIKAM 'IRFANIYYAH

Ndhir Ahmad 99

10. Muhammad 'Abid of Lahore (1160)

See section I.

17. Sayyid Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Qadir al-'Aydarus C. SHARH QASIDAH BANAT SU'AD

Tadhkirah 202

11. Shah Wali Allah of Delhi (1176)

See sections I, II, III, IV, V. X

A. KHUTBAT AL JUMH'AH

12. Sayyid Muhammad Bilgrami b. Sayyid 'Abd al-Jalil (1158)

1. Ma athir 378

2. Subhah 87

3. Abjad 909

4. Tadhkirah 83

5. Hayat-i- Jalil ii 159-163

C. AL JUZ AL ASHRAF MIN AL NUS-
TATRAF13. Sayyid ~~YXX~~ Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgrami (1200) (1206)

See sections II, VIII, XI.

B. SHIFA AL 'ALIL FI ISLAH KALAM
AL MUTANABBINadhir Ahmad 101 KITAB

14. Rawshan 'Ali of Jawahur (1235)

See section VII A

C. KITAB 'ALA WAD' AL MAQAMAT AL HA-
RIRIYYAHTa rikh-i-Farraukhbad
folio 177 b

§ 15. Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz of Delhi (1239)

See sections I, II, IV, V, VI, VIII,
IX, XI.

B.1. AL MAKATIB

Delhi 1297

2. SHARH RJUZAH AL ASMA'I

Rajki Rampur 596

16. Sayyid Ahmad Shahid (1246)

1. Ithaf 416

2. Abjad 916

3. Tadhkirah 81

B. MURASALAT

Bri. Mus. Descriptive List p 14

17. Shah Muhammad Isma'il of Delhi (1246)

See sections II, III, V.

25. ~~Muhammad b. Ali~~ A. MAJMU'AT AL KHUTAB

Bri.Mus.

18. Shah Rafi' al-Din of Delhi (1249)

See sections I,VI,XI.

A. RUQQA'AT

Delhi 1297

19. Rashid al-Din of Delhi (1249)

See section V.

A. MAKATIB

See Asafiyyah 112

MS. Delhi 1297 (RUQQA'AT)

20. Ahmad b. Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Ansari al-Yamani (1256)

See section VIII.

A.1. NAFHAT AL YAMAN

Bri.Mus.

2. 'Ujb al 'Ujab BI MA YUFID AL KUTTAB

Ibid

3. AL MANAQIB AL HAYDARIYYAH

Ibid

4. JAWAHIR AL WAQQAD FI SHARH QASIDAH

BANAT SU'AD See sections II,IX.

MS. Buhar 434

21. 'Abd al-Rahim b. 'Abd al-Karim of Safipur (about the middle of the 13th cent)

See section IX.

A. SHARH AL QASA ID AL SAB'AT AL MU'ALLAQAH

See Rampur 598

22. Muhammad Shakur (born 1211)

Tajalli 127

C.1. SHARH AL MAQAMAT AL HINDIYYAH

IBID

2. TA'RIB TUTI NAMA

Ibid

23. Muhammad Latif (d1267)

See Tajalli 128

C.1. AL HIKAYAT (BI 'L 'ARABIYYAH)

Ibid

24. Muhammad Husayn Khan Of Shahjampur (1276)

A. RIYAD AL FIRDAWS

25. Muhammad Salim (1266)

E. TABAQAT 23

Tajalli 128

see section XI

C. HAFWAT AL XEXX ILHAD (FI 'L ADAB)

6. HAFWAT TAJALLI 3

7. Tadhkirah 10

G. AL QASIDAT AL DARIYYAH

SECTION XI

5. 'Ali Muttaqi b. Hasan POETRY of Buxharpur (975)

1. Mas'ud Lahori b. Sa'd b. Salman (515) sections I, II, IV.

2. Mas'ud Lahori b. Sa'd b. Salman (515) 1. Lybab al albab II 246

2. Subhah 26

3. Abjad 890 Berghal I 1084

6. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-'Aziz al- 4. Tadhkirah 226

5. Pro. Browne. Lit. Hist. P 11 324

6. JARS 1905, p. 693-740; 1906. 11-51)

C. DIWAN (in Arabic)

7. Shaykh Fudayl of Kafil (10th cent)

2. Radi al-Din Hasan b. Muhammad b. Hasan al-Saghani (650)

C. AL QASA ID

See sections II, IX.

8. 'Abd al-Rahin, father of Shah Wali Allama (1131)

B. TA'ZIZ BAYTAY AL HARIRI

Berlin 7756

3. Qadi 'Abd al-Muqtadir (791)

1. Akhbar 147

2. Tabaqat 19

9. 'Abd al-Jalil Bilgrami (1138)

3. Ma athir 235

4. Subhah 29

G. QASA ID

5. Abjad 892

10. 'Ali Agha Qannawji (1130) 6. Hada iq 299

7. Tadhkirah 133

C. AL QASIDAT AL LAMIYYAH

(some lines cited in the Akhbar)

4. Ahmad Thanesari (early part of the 9th cent)

11. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-

1. Akhbar 142

2. Tabaqat 23

3. Ma athir 239

4. Subhah 37

5. Abjad 892

6. Hada iq 313

7. Tadhkirah 18

C. AL QASIDAT AL DALIYYAH

(The Achbar contains some lines)

5. 'Ali Muttaqi b. Husam al-Din of Burhanpur (975)

See sections I, II, IV.

B. NAZM AL GHURAR FI HUKM(HIKAM)

AL GHURAR

Asafiyyah 1526; Bengal I 1054

6. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Ma'bari (10th cent)

B. AL FATH AL MUBIN LI 'L SAMIRI

ALLADHI YHIBB AL MUSLIMIN

Loth 1044 vi

7. Shaykh Fudayl of Kalpi (10th cent)

Tadhkirah 165

C. AL QASA ID

8. 'Abd al-Rahim, father of Shah Wali Allah al-Dihlawi (1131)

C. AL QASA ID Hayat Wali

B. AL QIT'AH 'ALA AL NAFS(bi jawab

14. Muhammad Baqir al-Mutaf Ibn Sina) Agah of Nadras (1220)

1. Delhi 308

9. 'Abd al-Jalil Bilgrami (1138) Tadhkirah 188

See section X.

C. QASA ID

Subhah 79

10. 'Ali Asghar Qannawji (1140)

See sections I, IV.

C. AL QASIDAT AL MIDMIYYAH FI

MXENAT AL NAFAHAT AL MUHAMMADIYYAH

16. Shah Rafi' al-Din of Delhi (1140) Tadhkirah 141

11. Habib 'Abd Allah

(composed in 1154)

B. DIWAN

Asafiyyah 700

12. Shah Wali Allah of Delhi (1176)

See sections I, II, III, IV, V, X.

A. ATYAB AL NIGHAM FI MADH SAYYID AL 'ARAB

WA 'L 'AJAM

Bri. Mus.

MS. (AL QASIDAT AL BA IYYAH) Delhi 1273

13. Sayyid Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgrami (1200)

SEE sections II, VIII, X.

A. DIWAN

See Mu'jam p.1

MS: 3 parts at Asafiyyah 696; one part

in Bri. Mus. OR 8269 (not yet

catalogued); Rampur 586

2. Mukhtar DIWAN AZAD

See Hayat-i-Jalil ii foot noot 139

B. 1. AL SAB'AT AL SAYYARAH

Nadhir Ahmad 152 (Autograph)

2. MAZHAR AL BARAKAT

Miftah 1838

C. TASLIYAT AL FUWAD

ABjad 920

14. Muhammad Baqir al-Mutakhallis bi Agah of Madras (1220)

1. Beale 36

2. Tadhkirah 188

C. DIWAN

15. Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz of Delhi (1239)

See sections I, II, IV, V, VI,

VIII, IX, X.

B. AL TADMIN 'ALA QASIDAH (or QIT'AH)

~~XXXX~~ ABIN ~~XXXX~~

Delhi 895

16. Shah Rafi' al-Din of Delhi (1249)

See sections I, VI, X.

B. AL TADMIN

P.T.O.

B. B. AL TADMIN 'ALA QASIDAT ABIN

Delhi 308

2. AL TADMIN 'ALA QASIDAT JADDIHI 'ALA

AL NAFS

Delhi

17. Muhammad Salim (1266)

See section X

C. QASA ID (BI 'L 'ARABIYYAH)

Tajalli 129

18. Fayd Ahmad of Bada un (1276)

Tadhkirah 166

C. DIWAN

19. Fadl Haqq of Khayrabad '1278)

See sections VI, VIII.

B. MAJMU'AT AL QASA ID

Rampur 615

20. Hafiz Ghulam Husayn of Rampur

B. AL QASIDAT AL MADHIYYAH

Rampur 610

TITLES OF ARABIC WORKS WRITTEN IN INDIA OR BY INDIANS

ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED

N.B. The words 'KITAB ' and ' RISALAH '(or RISALAH FI) and the prefix 'AL' are disregarded in the arrangement of the titles of the books into which they enter: thus, for example, RISALAH FI ITHBAT AL AHADIYYAT, KITAB AL DHI B and ALHIKMAT AL BALIGHAH are to be sought under A, D and H respectively. The Roman figure indicates the section.

Hakim	Year	Volume	Notes
Hakim Imam Bakhah	1084	VII B	آداب الاطباء
'Abd al-Baqi	1084	VI	آداب الباقية في شرح الآداب المشرفة
'Abd al-Rashid	1083	"	آداب الرشيدية
Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani	786	IV.	آداب المریدین
Taj al-Din b. Zakariyya	1050	VI	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
Muhammad Anson of Peshawar		V	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
M. Murtada Zabidi	1205	"	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
'A. al-Qadir al-'Aydarus	1038	VIII	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
M. Murtada	1205	IV.	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
S. Dildar 'ali.	1235	V	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
Aman Allah Panipati	957	- II	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
Sh. Ahmad Mujaddid Alf thani	1034	V	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
Mulla Mahmud	1062	VI	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
Hakim Muhammad 'Ali of Lucknow		VII B.	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
Hasan Saghani	650	III	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
M. Murtada	1205	II	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
Nur Allah	1019	V	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
Hakim 'Alawi Khan	1160	VII B	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
S. Dildar 'Ali	1235	V	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
Abu Ahmad Awlad Hasan	1253	V	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
Sh. M. 'Isa b. 'Abd al-Rahim	982	IV.	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
Muhibb Allah of Allhabad	1058	"	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
M. Isma'il	1246	II	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
'Ali Muha imi		IV.	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
Hakim Durwish Muhammad		VII B	آداب الدنيا والآخرة
Sibghat Allah	1015	IV.	آداب الدنيا والآخرة

S. 'Ali Hamadani 786	II	اربعين اميرة
Shah Wali Allah 1176	"	اربعين
Abd al-Basit 1223	"	"
Abu Ah. Awlad Ha. 1253	"	"
M. Ishaq 1262	"	في فضل الحج والعمرة
Zayn al-Din b. 'A. 'Aziz (987)	IV	ارشاد ايجاد السبيل الرشاد
Sha. M. Isma'il 1246	V.	"
Ibrahim b. Abi Zayd	IV.	ارشاد الملوك لسداد السلوك
Shah. Wali Allah 1176	II.	الارشاد الى سمات علم الاسناد
Shihab al-Din 849	IX	ارشاد النحوي
'Abd al-'Ali Bahr al-'Ulam 1235	III.	الدرمان الدارحة
Turab 'Ali 1281	IX.	ازالة العضل من استعار مطول
M. Murtada Zabidi 1205	II.	الدرجاء الشائعة في الادب المتواترة
S. Dildar 'Ali 1235	III.	اساس الوصول
'Abd al-Ghani al-'Abbasi of Gawaiyar	"	
'Abd al-Qadir al-'Aydarus 1038	IV	اسباب النجاة والنجاح في اذكار النساء الصباح
'Ali Maha imi 835	V.	استيلاء البصر في الرد على استقصاء النظر
M. 'Abid of Dehli	VII A	رسالة في استخراج الاوساط العلوية
'Ali Muṭṭaqi 975	IV.	اسرار العالم من
Hakim 'Ali Sharif	VII B	اسرار العالم
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	VIII.	استخراج الخزان الصفا بشرح تحفة السلف
M. Tahir 986	II.	اسماء الرجال
Hasan Saghani 650	"	
M. b. 'Ali. b. M. 1235	V	كتاب في اسماء النسخ البخاري
'Abd al-Salam of Diwah	III.	الدستور المحمدية للترادفة والفراسة اليهودية في
S. Hu. b. Dildar 'Al 271	V	دار الهمم المستمعة الموعود اشراقا العالم
'Ali Akbar 1091	IX.	اصالة النظم
M. Murtada 1205	II.	اصول البصري
Salam Allah 1229	"	رسالة في اصول الحديث
Shah M. Ghawth	"	"
'Abd al-Salam of Diwah	III.	كتاب في اصول الفقه
Sha. M. Isma'il 1246	"	رسالة في اصول الفقه
Hasan Saghani 650	IX.	كتاب المناد
Sh. Wali Allah 1176	XI.	الطب النعم في علاج اسود العين

Hajji Rahmat Allah	V.
Muhajir Makki	"
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	"
Sha, 'Abd al-'Aziz 1239	IX
Qutb al-Din M. 990	VIII
Wali Allah of Lucknow 1270	"
Sa'd al-Din 891	III
Rahmat Allah 990	"
Mustafa b. M. Sa'id	I
Muhammed Yusuf	VI
'Ali Muttaqi 975	II
'Abd al-Haqq 1052	"
Hak. M. Kazim 1149	VII B
S. 'Ali Hamadani 786	IV.
Mustafa .M. Sa'id	I
M. Murtada 1205	II
M. Bahadur 'Ali Khan	VIII
Nur Allah 1019	V
"	"
Shah Wali Allah 1176	III
'Ali Maha imi 835	V
Muhibb Allah 1058	IV
Jawad Sabat 13th	IX
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	VIII
Ahmad 'Ali 1272	VI
Shah Jund Allah 11th	I
'Isamat Allah 1089	VII A
Ibn Ma'sum 1117	IX
Ghulam Naqshban 1126	I
M. Anwar b. Nur al-Din (1192)	V
Husayn b. Dildar 'Ali (1271)	III
Qadi Nizam Badakhshi (992)	V
'Abd al-Nabi (Lo20)	"
Shaykh Muhammad	"
M. M. Ahmad 1100	IV
Baha al-Din 791	"

الطائر الحقي في رد الفوائد

الاعتقادية

الحجاز البلاء

اعلم باعلام البلاء الحرام

الرفضان الدرب

أخافه الله الروار شرح المنار

بالسفي اشتهر بالمشاهدة والمخلف بآل

اقتسام آيات القرآن

الردود في رد الشبهات الموردة

الرد في الرد على الجاهل

الرد على الجاهل في الرد على الجاهل

الرد على الجاهل في الرد على الجاهل

رسالة الى الحاكم من لومته لادم

امارات الكلام الرحاني

امال الشيخوخة

اسيرة المفسر في حال خير البشر

رسالة في ان الوجود لا يشغل له

المنس التوتخية

الرد على الجاهل في الرد على الجاهل

انعام بكتا لادم بالحق الموردة

الفاصل الخواص

الرد على الجاهل في الرد على الجاهل

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الرد على الجاهل في الرد على الجاهل

الرد على الجاهل في الرد على الجاهل

Ibn Sirāj	V
M. Tahir 986	II
'Abd al-Rashid 1083	IX
M. 'Abid Sindī 1257	II
Muhibb Allah 1058	I
Ghulam 'Alī Āzād 1200	XI
Zahūr al-Haqq 1279	V
Muhibb Allah 1058	IV
Fadl Khatib Imām 1243	VI
M. 'Alam b. M. Shakir 12th	"
Imam al-Dīn after 1103	VII A
'Abd al-Labīb 11th	III
M. Irtidā Kh. 1251	IX
Do	VI
'Umar b. Ishaq 773	IV
'Abd al-Karīm 1045	"
Shah Ahmad Sa'id 1272	"
'Abd Allah Multani	"
Imam al-Dīn 11th cen	VI
Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz 1239	XI
Shāh Rafī' al-Dīn 1249	"
Do	"
Hafiz Ghulam Muhammad	V
Sibghat Allah 1015	IV
Taj al-Din b. Zakariyya 1050	IV
M. Shakur 13 th	X
Taj al-Din 1050	IV
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	"
M. Murtada 1205	IX
Hasan Saghani 650	XI
Turab 'Alī 1281	VI
Bahr al-'Ulum 1235	"
Haydar 'Alī 1225	"
Do	"
Bahr al-'Ulum 1235	"

تذكرة الراحين
تذكرة الموضوعات
تذكرة الخ

ترتيب مسند الإمام أبي حنيفة

ترجمة الكتاب

استيارة الفوائد

استيالات فقه السفة

استوية

استيارة الراحين في شرح تكملة البر

رسالة في استيالات

الشرح في شرح الترمذي

الشرح في شرح الترمذي

الشرح في شرح الترمذي

الشرح في شرح الترمذي

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الشرح في شرح الترمذي

الشرح في شرح الترمذي

الشرح في شرح الترمذي

Shah Rafi'al-Din 1249	VI	تمثيل الصائغة
M.b.Hasa al-Isfahani 1137	IX	الناقص في الفقه
Fadl Imam 1243	VI	تكملة الفقه
Qutb al-Din Nahrwali 990	X	التمثيل والمصارف في باب الفوائد
Wali Allah Surati 13th	II	التنبيهات
Wali Allah Lucknowi 1270	VI	الانتقادات في كتاب التكملة في الفقه
Hakim .M.Husayn Khan 1208	VII B	تفصيل المسائل والبدعات
Shah Muhammad Isma'il 1246	II	توضيح اليمين في باب دفع اليمين
Bahr al-'Uloom 1235	III	توضيح المسائل من شرح المسائل
S.Yusuf 790	"	الترغيب والترهيب في توضيح كلام شيخ المسائل
'Umar b. Ishaq 773	"	الترغيب والترهيب في توضيح المسائل
'Isa b. 'Abd al-Rahim 982	IV	رسالة في التوكل
'Ali Muhammad 1236	"	تفصيل المسائل
SH. Ahmad Mujaddid 1034	"	رسالة في التوكل
'Ali Asghar 1140	I	الترغيب والترهيب في مسائل الفقه
'Aziz Allah Ansari 1131	IV	الترغيب والترهيب في مسائل الفقه
Mufti Abu 'lBarakat 12th	III	جامع المسائل
Siraj al-Din Khan 13th	"	جامع المسائل
Hakim M. Kazim 1149	VII B	جامع المسائل
Taj al-Din 1050	IV	جامع المسائل
Tafaddul Husayn Kashmiri 1215	VII A	كتاب في الفقه
Rawshan 'Ali 1225	"	رسالة في الفقه
Muhammad Salim 1266	"	رسالة في الفقه
Nasir b. Husayn	I	البدء في التوكل في شرح المسائل
'Ismat Allah Saharanpuri 1089	IV	حيد الفوائد في الفقه
Hakim Shifa i Khan 13th	VII B	براهنة البراهين
Sayyid Muhammad Bilgrami 1185	IX	البراهنة في الفقه
'Ala al-Din Manglori 9th	VI	البراهنة في الفقه
Ghulam Husayn al-Shi'i 13th	"	البراهنة في الفقه
M.b.M.b.Ahmad 1100	IV	رسالة في الفقه
Fadl Haqq 1278	VI	المجمع من الفقه
Mulla Ghufuran 1260	III	المجمع من الفقه
M.Hashim al-Sindi 1174	II	مسائل الفقه
Hakim Masih al-Dawlah 'Ali.	VII B	مسائل الفقه
Khayra al-Din Allahabadi	V	حواشي في الفقه

Aman Allah Banarasi 1133	I
M. 'Abid Lahori 1160	I
Mulla Hamid b. 'Abd al-Rahim 1173	I
Mu'in al Din About 725	IX
Mulla M. Mubin 1225	VI
Nur al-Din Gujarati 1155	III
Aman Allah 1133	"
'Abd al-Hakim 1067	"
xxxxxxxxxxxx Wajih al-Din	"
Gujarati 998	II
Nur Allah 1019	I
Salam Allah 1229	I
Turab 'Ali 1281	I
'Abd al-Hakim 1067	V
Nur Muhammad 1195	"
Amir Fath Allah 997	VI
Qadi Mubarak 1162	"
M. Hasan b. Ghulam Mustafa 1198	"
Brakat Allah 12th	"
M. Mubin 1225	"
Bahr al-'Uloom 1235	"
Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz 1239)	"
Wali Allah 1270	"
Mulla Akbar	"
xxxxxxxx M. 'Azim	"
Zehur Allah 13th	"
Ghulam Subhan	VI
Qadi Mubarak 1162	"
Kemal al-Din 1175	"
Muhammad Hasan 1198	"
S. Ahmad 'Ali 1200	"
M. Mubin 1225	"
Bahr al-'Uloom 1235	"
Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz 1239	"
Tajal-Din Ahmad 'Abbasi	"
Fadl Imam 1243	"

اسم الفاضل

عائنه الحسن

عائنه الكثرية

عائنه النور

عائنه هندوستان

عائنه الهندوستان (الوديعه كيا)

(الوديعه كيا)

عائنه على عائنه الحيا

عائنه على عائنه الرادى

عائنه على عائنه الزاويه

عائنه على عائنه الزاويه

Zahur Allah b. M.Wali 1256 VI		کتابخانه علی بن ابی طالب
Ghulam Yahya 1128		کتابخانه علی بن ابی طالب
Muhammad Hasan 1198	"	"
S. Ahmad 'Ali 1200	"	"
Mulla M. Mubin 1225	"	"
Bahr al 'Ulum 1235	"	"
Shah 'Abd al-'Azizi 1239	"	"
Shah Rafi' al-Din 1249	"	"
Zahur Allah 1256	"	"
Turab 'Ali 1281	"	"
Hasan 'Ali Khan	"	"
'Imad al-Din 'Uthmani	"	کتابخانه علی بن ابی طالب
Rustam Rustam 'Ali Rampuri	"	"
Nur al-Islam b. Shaykh al-Islam	"	"
Muhammad Wali	"	"
Ghulam Nabi Shahjahanpuri	"	"
Muhammad 'Azim 13th	"	"
M. Fadl Allah 11th	I	کتابخانه علی بن ابی طالب
Mulla Nur Muhammad 1195	III	کتابخانه علی بن ابی طالب
'Abd al-Hakim 1067	IX	کتابخانه علی بن ابی طالب
'Abd al-Labib 11th	IX	کتابخانه علی بن ابی طالب
Fayd M.b. Shaykh M.	VI	کتابخانه علی بن ابی طالب
Hafiz 'Ali Asghar	"	"
Nur Allah 1019	V	کتابخانه علی بن ابی طالب
Wajih al-Din 998	"	"
Amir Fath Allah 997	"	"
Aman Allah 1133	"	"
Wali Allah 1270	"	کتابخانه علی بن ابی طالب
'Abd al-Hakim 1067	VI	کتابخانه علی بن ابی طالب
Mu'in al-Din 'Imrani	III	کتابخانه علی بن ابی طالب
'Abd al-Hakim 1067	III	"
Zahur Allah 1256	VI	کتابخانه علی بن ابی طالب
A man Allah 1133	"	کتابخانه علی بن ابی طالب
Mir Zahid 1101	V	کتابخانه علی بن ابی طالب
Do	VI	کتابخانه علی بن ابی طالب

Abu 'l Hasan Sindi 1138	II	ما شبيه على سبيل ابن ماجه
Do	"	شمال
Mir Hashim 1061	VII B	شرح الحساب
Hakim Sharif Khan 1231	"	"
Nur Alla h 1019	V	شرح التجويد
Do	VI	شرح جدول الورد ودواني على سبيل الشافعي
Mir Zahid 1101	"	النشا (الورد) ابن سبيل (الورد)
Mulla M. Amin 1109	"	شرح النشا
Nur al-Din 1155	"	"
M. Isma'illandani 1253	"	"
'Abd al Nabi Ahmadabadi 1144	"	يزيد على سبيل الشافعي
Mufti Jamal Khan 964	IX	شرح الباري على الكاظميه
Wajih Al-Din 998	"	النشا
Nur Allah 1019	" IX	النشا
'Abd al-Nabi Shattari 1020	"	النشا
'Abd al-Hakim 1067	"	النشا
Nur al-Haqq b. 'abd al-Haqq (1073)	"	النشا
'Isamat Allah 1089	"	النشا
Nur al-Din Ahmadabadi 1155	"	النشا
Nur Muhammad Kashmiri 1195	"	النشا
Wajih al-Din 998	VII A	شرح بخيتي
Nur Allah 1019	"	"
Muhammad Salim 1266	" II	"
Mulla Firuz Kashmiri 975	VI	ما شبيه على شرح الشافعي الورد بالوقفي
Abd al-Rashid Kashmiri 1083	"	النشا
Mir Zahid 1101	"	النشا
Nur Allah 1019	"	"
'Abd al-Rashid 1083	III	ما شبيه على شرح الورد على سبيل المحقق ابن خا
Wajih al-Din Gujarati 998	"	النشا
Qadi Nizam Badakhshi 992	V	ما شبيه على شرح القاضيه
Wajih al-Din 998	"	ما شبيه على شرح القاضيه لقضاء الى
'Abd al-Hakim 1067	"	ما شبيه على شرح القاضيه الحياه الى
Kamal al-Din Sahalawi 1175	"	النشا
Bahr al-'Uloom 1235	"	النشا
'Abd al-Nabi Shattari 1020	"	النشا
Mulla Muhammad Muhsin 1081	"	ما شبيه على شرح القاضيه

Qutb al-Din Sahalawi 1153	V	عاشق حبيب شرح القادر بالله
Aman Allah 1133	"	القادر بالله
Nizam al-Din Sahalawi 1161	"	القادر بالله
'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Abd al-Rasul "	"	القادر بالله
Hakim Sharif Kh. 1231	VI	عاشق حبيب شرح القادر بالله
Imad al-Din 'Uthmani 13th	"	القادر بالله
Turab 'Ali 1281	"	القادر بالله
Asad Allah Panjabi 13th	"	القادر بالله
Ahmad 'Ali Sandili "	"	القادر بالله
M. Ahsan known as Hafiz Daraz (1263)	"	عاشق حبيب شرح القادر بالله
'Abd al-Malik 13th	"	القادر بالله
Nur al-Islam b. Shaykh al-Islam "	"	القادر بالله
Fadl Haqq 1278	"	القادر بالله
Nur Allah 1019	IX	عاشق حبيب شرح القادر بالله
Khatib Abu 'l Fadl 959	V	عاشق حبيب شرح القادر بالله
Mulla Firuz Kashmiri 973	"	القادر بالله
'Abd al-Hakim 1067	"	القادر بالله
Mir Zahid 1101	"	(عاشق حبيب)
Nur Allah 1019	"	القادر بالله
Aman Allah 1133	"	القادر بالله
Nur al-Din Gujarati 1155	"	القادر بالله
Bahr al-'Uloom 1235	"	القادر بالله
Wajih al-Din Gujarati 998	III	عاشق حبيب شرح القادر بالله
Nur Allah 1019	"	القادر بالله
Nur al-Din Gujarati 1155	"	القادر بالله
Nur Allah 1019	VI	عاشق حبيب شرح القادر بالله
Hamad Allah 1160	"	القادر بالله
Nizam Al-Din Sahalawi 1161	"	القادر بالله
Muhammad Hasan 1198	"	القادر بالله
M. Amjad b. M. Fayd Allah 12th	"	القادر بالله
M. 'Alam b. Muhammad Shakir 1200 "	"	القادر بالله
Bahr al-'Uloom 1235	"	القادر بالله
Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz 1239	"	القادر بالله
Qadi M. Irtida 'Ali Khan 1251	"	القادر بالله
Muhammad Mu'in 1258	"	القادر بالله

Hakim Mir Hashim 1061	IX	عاشق الحق
'Abd al-Hakim 1067	"	عاشق الحق
Mulla M. Muhsin 1119	"	عاشق الحق
S. Muhammad Qannawji	"	عاشق الحق
Nur Muhammad Kashmiri 1195	"	عاشق الحق
M. Farid b. M. Sharif	"	عاشق الحق
Mu'in al-Din 'Imrani 725	"	عاشق الحق
Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz 1239	V	عاشق الحق
Mu'in al-Din 'Imrani	III	عاشق الحق
Nur al-Din 1155	IX	عاشق الحق
b. Muhammad/Ghulam Muhammad 13th	VI	عاشق الحق
Mulla Mahmud Jawnpuri 1083	"	عاشق الحق
'Abd al-Hakim 1067	"	عاشق الحق
Hakim A'ajib Khan	VII B	عاشق الحق
Hakim Sharif Khan 1231	"	عاشق الحق
Nur Allah 1019	III	عاشق الحق
'Abd Allah b 'Abd al-Hakim	"	عاشق الحق
Mulla M. MUhsin Kashmiri 1119	"	عاشق الحق
Wali Allah 1270	"	عاشق الحق
Abu Bakr Ishaq 736	"	عاشق الحق
Shah Wali Allah 1176	II	عاشق الحق
'Abd al-Nabi 1020	IX	عاشق الحق
Brakat Allah 12th cen	VI	عاشق الحق
M. Akbar, known as Hakim Arzani	VII B	عاشق الحق
M. Hashim al-Sindi 1174	V	عاشق الحق
Mahmud Jawnpuri 1062	IV	عاشق الحق
Mannun Lal 13th	VII A	عاشق الحق
S. Dildar 'Ali 1235	V	عاشق الحق
'Abbas Mirza 13th	VIII	عاشق الحق
Thana Allah 1225	V	عاشق الحق
Nur Allah 1019	"	عاشق الحق
Muhammad Lutf Allah 1267	X	عاشق الحق
Muhammad . 'Abd Allah Sindi	IV	عاشق الحق
S. 'Abd al-Jalil 1132	X	عاشق الحق
Murtada Sabidi 1205	V	عاشق الحق
Mahmud Jawnpuri 1062	VI	عاشق الحق

'Abd al-Rahim Safipuri 13th	IX	حل الشواحد على شواحد اثنائه
'Abd Allah	VI	حل الفضائل
Nur al-Din 1155	V	من المعاني لما يشبه شرح المقاصد
M. Mahdi b. 'Ali Asghar 1253	VII B	حلية الواصفين ودرجات الصالحين
Hakim Shufa i Khan 13th	"	كتاب الحيات
M.b.M.b.Ahmad 1100	IV	الحيرة في ذات الله
'Abd al-Hakim 1067	V	الرسالة الخاقانية
Qadi Chakan 920	III	خزانة الروايات الروايات
'Ali Maha im 835	IV	خصوص النعم
Shah Wali Allah 1176	X	خطبة الحجج
Nizam al-Din Awliya 725	X	الغيا
Abu Bakr Ishaq 736	III	حلاصة الامام ابي تمام اسرار الامام وادب السلام
Khub Allah 1144	IV	حلاصة الامام
Mir Hashim 1061	VI	فلاصة الامام
Abu Bakr Ishaq 736	I	فلاصة الامام القرآن في بيان معنى القرآن
Ni'mat Allah	V	رسالته في حل الامام
Muhammad 'Ali Hazin 1183	I	كتاب خواص الفقه السور والديات
Muhammad b.Hasan 1135	III	كتاب الخوذة الحارثية في الامم
'Alim al-Din b. Faish al-Din	II	دارالافتاء في شرح النسخ
'Abd al-Haqq 1052	VI	الدر البهيبة
Shah Wali Allah 1176	II	الدر المنين في مستبشرات النبي الامين
'Abd al-Hakim 1067	V	الدر المنين في انساب علم در (الرسالة)
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	"	الدر المنين في بيان المهيم من علوم الدين
Hasan Saghani 650	II	در السجاية في بيان دقيات الصلوة
M.Murtada 1205	"	در الصريح في حديث امير المؤمنين
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	IV	الدر اليتيم في بيان المهيم من علوم الدين (الدر المنين)
Muhammad Fakhir 1164	V	دره الحقيق في لقرة الصدقات
Ibn Ma'sum 1117	VIII	الدرجات الرفعة في الطبقات الرفيعة
Hasan Saghani 650	II	درعة اليم والبراء
Muhammad Nasir Ghiyathpuri	IV	در در علم الله
'Abd al-Nabi 1020	"	در سوره السجدة في بيان الواويرة
'Abd al-Nabi Ahmadnagari	IX	در سوره الزلزال
'Abd al-Nabi 1020	I	در سوره العنكبوت
'Abd al-Haqq 1052	IV	در فاتر
Mulla Muhammad 1224	VI	الروقة الناصية في شرح الامم والبراء

Mahmud Jawnpuri 1062	VI	الروضة البادية في عناية التورق بالجاد
Mas'ud Lahori 515	XI	درن الرن
Habib 'Abd Allah 1154	"	"
Ghulam 'Ali Azad 1200	"	"
Muhammad Baqir 1220	"	"
Fayd Muhammad Ahmad 1276	"	"
Abu Bakr Ishaq 736	IV	ذكر الزكركم الكبر
Hasan Saghani 650	IX	كن بالذنب
'Abd Allah Ahmadabadi	VIII	بج الدرب
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	IV	"
Nur Allah 1019	V	رساله في زكركم الرواني في امان خزان
'Abd al-Nabi Makhdum al-Mulk 991	V	رساله في رد ملن راجع خال عظامم ال حسن
Fadl Haqq 1278	VI	رساله في رد ملن راجع خال عظامم ال حسن
Badr al-Din Haydarabadi	V	رساله في رد الملن راجع خال عظامم ال حسن
Nur Allah 1019	"	فتح القدر
Shah Rafi' al-Din 1249	X	خات
'Abd al-Nabi 1020	VI	روح الرواح شرح كرامه
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	IV	روح المراح روح الادواح
Fayd 1 Do	"	الروض البادع والارض السقيض
Fadl Haqq 1278	VI	الروض البادع والارض السقيض
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	VIII	الروض البادع والارض السقيض
Husayn b. Dildar 'Ali	III	روضة الادواح
'Abd al-Rasul b. Muhammad Kh.	IV	روضة الادواح والارض السقيض
Ibn Ma'sum 1117	V	رياض السالكين في تنقيح حقه سيد الملن
Muhammad Husayn Khan 1276	X	رياض الفردوس
M.b. 'Ali b. Muhammad	V	رياض السالكين في تنقيح حقه سيد الملن
Nizam al-Din 'Allami 735	IV	زاد الادواح
'Ali Muttaqi 975	"	زاد الادواح
S. 'Ali bi Dildar 'Ali 1259	V	زاد الادواح
'Abd al-Labib b. 'Abd al-Hakim	III	زاد الادواح في تنقيح حقه سيد الملن
'Umar b. Ishaq 773	"	زاد الادواح في تنقيح حقه سيد الملن
Muhammad b. Hasan 1135	"	زاد الادواح في تنقيح حقه سيد الملن
Taqi b. Shah Muhammad	II	زاد الادواح في تنقيح حقه سيد الملن
Sh. Yunus Naqshbandi	IV	زاد الادواح في تنقيح حقه سيد الملن
'Ali Mahami 835	"	زاد الادواح في تنقيح حقه سيد الملن
Abd al-Hakim 1067	V	زاد الادواح في تنقيح حقه سيد الملن

M. Abu al-Tayyib al-Sindi	II	شرح سندی
'Isamat Allah 1089	VII A	شرح التفسیر الذکر
Muslih al-Din 987	VI	شرح التفسیر السنی
Nur Allah 1019	"	"
M. 'Abid Sindi 1257	II	شرح التفسیر الذکر
'Umar b. Ishaq 773	III	شرح جامع صغیر
Do	"	شرح جامع کبیر
'Abd al-Nabi 1020	II	شرح حدیث آیت کثر
AKbar 'Ali al-Sandili 1220	IV	شرح حرف البحر
Sa'd al-Din 882	III	شرح حسنی
Miran Shah 956	IV	شرح حدیث نصیب
Muhammed Hayat 1163	"	شرح التفسیر الوطانی
Lutf Allah Muhandas 11th	VII A	شرح درخت الحیات
'Abd al-Basit 1223	"	"
Sh. Sulayman b. Abi al-Fath	"	(لوف: ابی الفیاض)
'Abd al-Basit 1223	II	شرح دلائل الخیرات
Sh Budh Bihari 952	IX	شرح اربع الدنوی
Abu 'l Fadl Khatib 959	"	الربیع
Wajih Al-Din 998	"	الربیع
'Abd al-Nabi 1020	"	الربیع
Hakim S. 'Ali Muhammad	VII B	شرح الارباب والامام
Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani 786	IV	شرح الارباب والامام
'Ali Akbar 1091	IX	شرح اصول ابی
Ilahdad Jawnpuri 932	III	شرح اصول سندی
Shihab al-Din 849	"	الربیع
Sa'd al-Din 882	"	الربیع
Dildar 'Ali 1235	"	شرح باب التزکوة من مدارق السقین
do	"	شرح باب التزکوة من مدارق السقین
'Umar b. Ishaq 773	IX	شرح السیاح لابن سنان
Hamd Allah 1160	III	شرح زبدة الواصل
'Umar b. Ishaq 773	"	شرح زکادات
Muhammad Ashraf al-Bardawani	VI	شرح مسلم الارباب
Hamd Allah 1160	"	"
Qadi Mubarak 1162	"	"
Mulla Musafir 1177	"	"

M. Hasan 1198	VI
M. Kubin 1225	"
Bahr al-'Ulum 1235	"
Ahmad 'Ali 1200	"
M. Firuz	"
'Abd Allah Muhammad	"
Abu 'l Muzaffar Sharaf al-Din	"
M. 'Azim b. Kifayat Allah	"
'Abd al-Ghafur	"
Asad Allah Panjabi	"
'Abd al-Basit 1223	IX
M. Irtida 'Ali Khan 1251	VI
Sa'd Akkash al-Din 882	IX
'Abd Allah 990	"
M. 'Ashiq b. 'Umar 1036	II
Nur al-Haqq 1073	"
S. Muhammad b. S. 'Ali 8th	VI
Hasan Saghani 650	II
'Umar b. Ishaq 773	III
Do	V
Abu 'l Khayr 1198	"
'Abd al-Awwal Zaydpuri 968	III
Bahr al-Ulum 1235	IV
Sayyid 'Ali 786	"
'Abd al-Nabi 1020	"
Muhibb Allah 1038	"
M. Afdal Ilahabadi 1124	"
Nur al-Din 1155	"
Bahr al-'Ulum 1235	III
Haki 'Ali Jilani 1018	VII B
Kali Allah 1140	"
M. Sharif b. Akmal Khan 13th	"
Sayyid 'Abd al-Pattah 949	"
Khawajah Husayn Nagori 901	IX
Sayyid Muhammad Gesudaraz 825	IV

شرح مسلم الخادم
الموسم بمكة الشرح

الرحمن شرح بين

شرح الشافية
شرح شرح تحذير
شرح شرح الحامى

شرح شفاء آل ترمزى
الشا

شرح التتمية
شرح مجمع البحارى
الشرح المختص بالهداية
شرح العقائد الطحاوية
الشرح الشافية

الرائد السراج
شرح قصص لوطى بن موسى
شرح قصص الخلق
الشا

الشا
الشا
الشا
الشا

شرح فقه الكبر
شرح القانون

الشا
(الحیات)

شرح قالونى
شرح القسمات من الفصاح
شرح بلاد قنبر

'Abd al-Rahim 13th	X	شرح القضاة السبعة الحلقة
Sayyid 'Alī 786	IV	شرح مقبرة ابن القاضى
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	X	شرح مقبرة النور الى ابن
'Abd al-Haqq 1052	I	شرح المقبرة النورية
Ghulam Naqqashband 1126	IX	شرح مقبرة بانيات حاد (الحق) مصدق الفضل
Shihab al-Din 849	X	شرح القضاة السبعة الحلقة
'Abd al-Rahim 13th	X	شرح الكافية (شرح المعنى)
Shihab al-Din 849	IX	القبا (غاية التحقيق)
Safi b. Nasir 9th	"	القبا
Sa'd al-Din 882	"	القبا
Shifa i Khan 13th	VII B	شرح مقولات القاضى
'Abd al-Baqi 1048	V	شرح كليلة التوحيد
Sa'd al-Din 891	III	شرح لسان الدقانى
'Abd al-Nabi 1020	IV	شرح الطريقة العنسية
Nizam al-Din 1161	V	شرح الريحانة السانقرية فى الفقه الاسلاميه
Hakim Mir Hashim 1061	VII A	شرح المحیطى
Bahr al-'Ulum 1235	"	القبا
'Umar b. Ishaq 773	III	شرح النماز
'Abd al-Basit 1223	"	شرح مختصر انوار
'Abd al-Hakim 1067	IX	شرح سرود الاحرار
Nizam al-Din 1161	III	شرح سلم النبوت
Muhammad Hasan 1198	"	القبا
Barakat Allah 12th	"	القبا
Mulla Mubin 1225	"	القبا
Bahr al 'Ulum 1235	"	" (ذوق الحوت)
Wali Allah 1270	"	" (فائل المكنوت)
Shah Wali Allah 1176	V	شرح رسالة فى تعليم علم الاحكام
Shams al-Din Yahya 747	II	شرح شفاء الالوار الصغاني
'Abd al-Nabi 1020	"	شرح شفاء الصالحين
'Abd al-Haqq 1052	"	القبا (مقالات الفصح)
Majd al-Din	VII	شرح رسالة فى السعاطيات
'Umar b. Ishaq 773	III	شرح مقبول
Muftu Jamal Khan 989	IX	شرح المقام
Bahr al-'Ulum 1235	V	شرح مقولات المادى
M. Shakur 13th	X	شرح المقامات السبعة
Ghulam Mustafa	VI	شرح المقامات السبعة

'Abd al-Qadir 1038	IV
Ni'mat Allah b. Tahir	III
'Abd al-Wahhab 1125	V
Dildar 'Ali 1235	"
Nur Allah 1019	"
M. B. Iama'il 642	VII
Hagiz Ghulam Muhammad	III
'Imat Allah 1089	VII A
'Abd al-Rahim 13th	IX
'Ali Maha imi 835	V
Ghulam 'Ali 1200	II
Nizam al-Din 1208	VI
Nur al-Din 1155	IV
Ilahdad od Lucknow 10th	X
M. 'Abid 'Ali 1257	III
Hajji Dabir 1020	X VIII
Hasah Jaghani 650	IX
'Ata Allah 12th	V
Durwish Muhammad 12th	VII B
Bahr al-'Ulam 1235	VI
Ahmad b. Muhammad 1256	X
'Abd al-Basit 1223	I
'Umar b. Ishaq 773	III
Kamal al-Din 1175	VI
Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz 1239	II
'Imad al-Din 'Uthmani 13th	VI
'Abd Allah Sultanpuri	V
Yusuf Ahmadabadi	V
Muhibb Allah 1058	IV
'Abd al-Karim 1045	V
S. Najaf 'Ali 13th	V
Shah Wali Allah 1176	III
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	VIII
Malik Ahmadabadi	V
'Imad al-Din 'Uthmani	V

صفحة الصفحه في بيان اسماح الصفحه

ملوك التتار
كتاب الملوك كراو صوره في القامه

صوارم الاسات

الصوارم المشتملة

صوان القضا

الصفحة الجيده (في نسخة تاشتمية)

فنايله في اسرار الحساب

نزدرة الدير

الصفحة التي تظهر في شرح النور الزهر

صفحة الدير في شرح الحج النجاري

رساله في الطبقات

طريق الدخيل شرح فصول الحكمة

رساله لطيف الجيدول

طوالج الدير على الدير النصار

الصفحة الواله بربطه وآله

الدير في الاخر والابا الفخر

رساله النبوة في الدير النور

عجابه تافه

الدير

عجابه تافه في الفقه الكتاب

رساله في تحجيب البيان في علوم القرآن

عجابه تافه في الفقه الكتاب

عجابه تافه

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عجابه تافه

الصفحة التي تظهر في النور الزهر والدير النور

عجابه تافه في اسماح الدير النور

عجابه تافه في اسماح الدير النور

عجابه تافه في اسماح الدير النور

عجابه تافه في اسماح الدير النور

M. Murtada 1205	III
Shihab al-Din 849	V
Shah Wali Allah 1176	V
Fadl Haqq 1278	VI
Hakim Mir Hashim 1061	VII A
Asad Allah Panjabi	VI
Dildar 'Ali 1235	V
'Ali Muttaqi 975	IV
M. Hayat Sindi 1163	V
Abu al-Mahasin Sharaf al-Din 795	IV
'Alim Allah 1211	IX
'Aziz Allah Tulanbi 975	IV
'Inayat Allah 1141	III
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	IV
Safi b. Nasir 9th	IX
Muhammad Hasan 1198	VI
Ishaq Khan 1182	VII B
Muhammad Hasan b. Mufti	VI
M. b. al-Hasan al-'Ilmi 996	VI
Fadl Haqq 1278	VIII
'Umar b. Ishaq 773	III
Nur Allah 1019	"
Dildar 'Ali 1235	V
'Abd al-'Aziz 975	IV
M. Hashim 1174	III
Shihab al-Din 941	"
'Alim b. 'Ala 790	"
Abu al-Fath Rukn b. Rustam	III
'Umar b. Ishaq 773	III
Sh. Nizam and others	"
'Umar b. Ishaq 773	"
SH. Khawand Miyan	"
Mu'in al-Din 1085	"
'Ali Muttaqi 975	IV
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	I

مقدود الجواهر المضية في ادله الى حنيفه

الحقيقة الموضحة

الحقيقة الموضحة

سالك في العلم

في علم الهندس

في علم الارباب

نظام الادب في الكلام

الغواص في اسرار السجون

العون في كشف حال السجون

حين الفصوص شرح الفصوص

حين الفصوص شرح قطر الندى

رساله حينية

قبايات المحاسن في شرح وقاياه

قبايات القرب في شرح قبايات الطالب

قبايات الحقيق في شرح الكافي

قبايات العلم في الطبقات

قبايات الفهم في تبيين المحرم

قبايات الكلام في حقيقة القدر في الكفاء (البرهان)

قبايات القبايات في القبايات

رساله مخدرة

الزفة المضية في تزيين نردب الى حنيفه

رساله في حنيفه

رساله في حنيفه

رساله في حنيفه

رساله في حنيفه

رساله في حنيفه

رساله في حنيفه

رساله في حنيفه

رساله في حنيفه

رساله في حنيفه

رساله في حنيفه

رساله في حنيفه

Shah Wali Allah 1176	I	شرح الجيسر بالله في علم التفسير
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	IX	الفتح القدسي في التفسير (أبو)
M.b. 'Abd al-'Aziz 10th	XI	الفتح المبين للباري الذي
'Abd al-Haqq 1052	V	فتح العين للشيخ فخر الدين في شرح القرآن
Abu 'l Hasan 1138	II	شرح الودود شرح سبش الى دادود
'Alim Allah Lahori 1176	IV	الفتوحات القدسية في تفسير الروز القوي
S. M. QULI b. M. Husayn	V	الفتوحات الحميدة
'Abd al-Nabi 1020	IV	الفتوحات الخيرية
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	"	الفتوحات القدسية في الرقة العبدية
Abu 'l Hasan 1138	"	الفتوحات النبوية
M. b. 'Abd al-'Aziz 12th	V	فتح الجواني
Dildar 'Ali 1235	"	مسألة في فرك
Mahmud 1062	IX	البراهين شرح الفتوحات الوهابية
M. Hashim 1174	III	البراهين في السبل
Ahmad 'Ali 1200	"	مسألة في الفقه
S.M. Yusuf 1172	V	الفتح الساتر من العلم الساتر
'Abd Allah known as Jalabi 1070	I	فريدة الزمان في تفسير آية ما مضى
'Ali Muttazi 975	II	الفتوحات شرح طابع الرضا
Wali Allah 1176	"	الفضل المبين في السبل من اعماد النبي
Mahibb Allah 1119	V	الفتوحات القدسية شرح السبل
'Ali Maha imi 835	III	فقه كوفي
Hajji Dabir 1020	VIII	فرائد الرضا في فرائد الرضا
Bahr al-'Ulum 1235	III	فرائد الرضا شرح علم النبوت
'Abd al-Haqq 1052	V	الفتوحات الحميدة
Sayyid Hasan b. Dildar 'Ali 1271	V	الفتوحات الحميدة شرح السبل
M. Sharif 13th	VII B	الفتوحات الحميدة شرح السبل
Hakim Shifa I Khan	"	فرائد الرضا في سيات الرضا
Shah Ahmad Sa'id 1272	IV	الفتوحات المبين في اصول التفسير
Shah Wali Allah 1176	II	فتوحات السبل في اصول التفسير
A Certain scholar	"	فتوحات السبل في اصول التفسير
'Abd al Awwal 968	II	فتوحات السبل في اصول التفسير
'Abd al-Nabi 1020	IV	فتوحات السبل في اصول التفسير
'Umar b. 'Arif	II	فتوحات السبل في اصول التفسير
Wali Allah 1176	IV	فتوحات السبل في اصول التفسير
Fadl Haqq 1278	VI	فتوحات السبل في اصول التفسير

Ahmad b. M. Qasim b. Nadhir 1124 I

Rahmat Allah 990 III

Shah M. Isma'il 1246 X

Fadl Haqq 1278 XI

S. 'Abd al-Rahman IV

Hakim M'r Hashim 1061 IX

Aman Allah 1133 III

Salam Allah 1229 II

Hasan Saghani 650 IX

Tafaddul Husayn 1215 VII A

'Ali Kabir 1269 "

Do " "

Sh. Mubarak b. Arzani II

M. Siddiq 1192 V

M. Irtida 'Ali Khan 1251 II

Muhibb Allah 1058 IV

M. b. M. b. Ahmad 1100 "

Sayyid Ahmad 1246 X

Kirupat Fadl Imam 1243 VI

Murtada Zabidi 1205 II

M. Mu'in 1225 VI

Muhibb Allah 1119 III

Shah Wali Allah 1176 II

Sayyid M. Gesudaraz 825 IV

Wali Allah 1176 "

Hasan Saghani 650 II

Bard al-Din al-Damamini 828 II

S. M. 'Ali Quli V

Nur Allal 1019 "

Hasan Saghani 650 II

Shihab al-Din 849 X

Turab 'Ali 1231 IX

Badr b. Taj III

Nur al-Huda IV

M. b. M. b. Ahmad 1100 Azad 1200 XI

شرح التلخيص في سرار التلخيص

في التلخيص في سرار التلخيص

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في التلخيص في سرار التلخيص

في التلخيص في سرار التلخيص

في التلخيص في سرار التلخيص

Qamar al-Din Husayn 1193	IV	سبط النور
M. Hasan 1198	VI	ساجد الهم
Hakim Imam Bakshah VII B		أحواله الآراء - شرح آداب العلماء
Mahmud 1062	VI	رسالته في معنى ارتفاع الذيقفين
Nur al-Din Ahmadabadi 1155	IX	سجل مكنه على السجل
'Abd al-Rahim 13th	IX	سجل على السجل
Muhibb Allah 1119	VI	المناظرة في سائر العلوم
Aman Allah 1133	"	رسالته في الفقه
Jar Allah 12th	"	"
S. Khwajah Muhammad	"	سجادة
Muhibb Allah 1058	IV	المناظرة في
Muhammad Tahir 986	II	المعنى في سبط أسرار الرجال
Aman Allah 1133	III	مفسر الأصول
M.b.M.b. Ahmad 1100	IV	المفلس في إيمان الله
Murtada 1205	"	المقاصد الهندية
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	"	المقالات الزاخرة والبراهين
'Abd al-Nabi 1020	"	مقامات الأرض
S. Abul Bakr b. muhsin 1128	X	المقامات الهندية
Mu'tamad Khan Rustam VII A		كتاب المقامات
Shah Wali Allah 1176	V	المقامات السنية في انصار الزعم السنية
Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz 1239	I.	مقدمة لتفسير فتح العزيز
'Abd al-Haqq 1052	II	مقدمة الشرح
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	X	المقامات
Sa'd al-Din 882	IV	البراهين
Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz 1239	X	المقامات
Rashid al-Din 1249	X	الفقه
'Inayat Allah 1141	III	لمنطق النحائي شرح كثر الرقائ
Ahmad b. Abi al-Ghayth 1116	IX	لمنطق البديع والهجج المدح
M. Sharif of Lucknow	III	لمنطق الهند
Jamal Hansawi 8th cen	IV	المقامات
Sayyid 'Ali Hamadani 786	IV	سائر الأساطير
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	VIII	رسالته في سائر التجارب
Ahmad b. M. 1256	X	المقامات الهندية
S. Husayn 1271	V	سائر المذاهب في سائر العلوم
M.b.Hasan 1135	III	الناظم النبوية في سائر العلوم
SH. Kubarak 1001	I	سائر العلوم (يا شيخ من الأفاضل)

Qutb al-Din 990	VIII	كتاب التواريخ
'Ali Muttaqi 975	II	كتاب التواريخ
Taqi al-Din M.b. Ahmad III		كتاب التواريخ
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	VIII	كتاب التواريخ
'Abd al-Karim 1045	IV	كتاب التواريخ
Murtada 1205	I	كتاب التواريخ
Rahmat Allah 990	III	كتاب التواريخ
Do	"	كتاب التواريخ
Muhammad Mah 986	IV	كتاب التواريخ
Habib Allah 1140	VI	كتاب التواريخ
M. Akram b. M. Na'im	"	كتاب التواريخ
M. b. M. b. Ahmad 1100	IV	كتاب التواريخ
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	V	كتاب التواريخ
Ishaq Khan 1182	VII B	كتاب التواريخ
Paydi 1004	IV	كتاب التواريخ
Nur Allah 1019	V	كتاب التواريخ
Murtada 1205	II	كتاب التواريخ
'Ali Muttaqi 975	IV	كتاب التواريخ
M. 'Abid 1257	II	كتاب التواريخ
Jawad Sabat 13th	IX	كتاب التواريخ
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'Abd al-Qadir 1038	IV	كتاب التواريخ
M. Kashif Hanafi 12th	I	كتاب التواريخ
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	VIII	كتاب التواريخ
Nur Allah 1019	I	كتاب التواريخ
'Abd al-Qadir 1038	V	كتاب التواريخ
'Ali Muhammad 1236	"	كتاب التواريخ
Ilahdad 1006	V	كتاب التواريخ
'Abd Allah Sultanpuri 990	VIII	كتاب التواريخ
'Ali Muttaqi 975	II	كتاب التواريخ
AL-Damamini 828	IX	كتاب التواريخ
Abu 'l Hasan 1138	III	كتاب التواريخ
Turab 'Ali 1281	IX	كتاب التواريخ
Mahmud 1062	VI	كتاب التواريخ
Qadi Mubarak 1162	"	كتاب التواريخ

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